METROPOLITAN ARCHITECTURE

AND MODERNITY:

Otto Wagner in Context

by

© David Patrick Frisby (1998)

A thesis submitted for the degree of
MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
(by research)
to the Mackintosh School of Architecture
University of Glasgow

January 1998

ProQuest Number: 13815433

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 13815433

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

11094 (copy 1)

GLASGOW
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

ABSTRACT

The work of Otto Wagner (1841-1918) has been examined from many standpoints hitherto, most often as the leading protagonist in the development of modern architecture in Vienna at the turn of the century, together with Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos and others. The present thesis has a much more modest aim, namely, to examine some aspects of the context within which Wagner was developing his conception of a modern architecture particularly in the period up to 1900. Its focus is, as the title suggests, upon metropolitan architecture and modernity as the context for Wagner's polemical call for a modern architecture that reflects modern life.

The introduction provides a brief overview of Wagner's development and examines some of the problems involved in reading the city and modern life.

The chapter on modernity traces the ambiguities surrounding the concept of die Moderne both as an artistic movement - modernism - and as an object of artistic endeavour - modernity. An attempt is made to substantiate the claim that, rather than view the discourse on modernity as an exclusively turn of the century phenomenon in Vienna, it may be traced back to the 1880's and earlier. Drawing upon contemporary discourses within architecture journals largely in Vienna, the chapter highlights the conceptualisation of the modern within architectural circles in Vienna and elsewhere, whilst looking briefly at the relationship between this and other discourses on modernity.

The crucial site for modern architecture is, for Wagner, the modern metropolis. Hence, the second chapter on the modern metropolis focuses upon two phases in the development of a 'new' Vienna - the one associated with the Ringstrasse development from around 1860 to 1890, and the other to the so-called 'second Renaissance' in Vienna (the Ringstrasse having been the first) from the 1890's onwards, which is most commonly

identified with art nouveau and Secessionism in Vienna. Rather than focus upon this particular aesthetic dimension, the chapter investigates the relationship between the development of the new discipline, Städtebau, literally city building, and the attempts to restructure Vienna under the epithet of 'new' Vienna. In particular, attention is given to the works of Camillo Sitte and Joseph Stübben as two of the major contributors to city planning theory and practice, who, in their different ways, had a significant impact upon the development of a 'new' Vienna. Wagner's contribution to the important competition for a General Regulation Plan for Vienna is placed in this context. In the course of the chapter, a case is made for considering city planning as a crucial and often neglected dimension of metropolitan modernity.

The third chapter commences with a detailed, critical analysis of Wagner's Moderne Architektur volume of 1896 which outlines the claim that a modern architecture must reflect the modern life of the metropolis. This claim is examined, in relation to the contemporary response to Wagner's claims in the light of Wagner's teaching programme and its outcomes and to some of the building types favoured by his conception of modernity. Drawing upon arguments from the earlier chapters, there follows an examination of features of 'modern life' as delineated by Wagner in his writings that highlight some of the contradictions in a project to develop a modern architecture that reflects this modern life.

The conclusion draws together the contradictions in the concept of modernity and its relevance for understanding the modern metropolis and its architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Vienna.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the result of library and archival research and I am indebted to the following for access to material: to the staff of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna for newspaper and monograph material; to the extremely helpful staff of the Bibliothek der Technische Universität Wien, especially for access to architectural journals; to the staff of the library in the Akademie der bildende Künste, Vienna; to Roswitha Lacina for access to the Camillo Sitte Archive in the Institut für Städtebau at the Technische Universität, Wien.

The final stages of the dissertation were completed during my first months as Visiting Fellow at the Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften in Vienna, and I am very grateful to the Director, Professor Gotthart Wunberg, and staff of this institute for their support and for facilitating an ideal working environment.

In the United States I am grateful to the very helpful staff of the Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, at the Getty Center; to Tim O. Benson Associate Curator of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center, Los Angeles County Museum; to the staff of the Rudolph Schindler Collection at the University of California, Santa Barbara; and to the staff of the library of the University of California, San Diego.

Early versions of parts of this dissertation have been presented in seminars/lectures in the Department of Sociology, and in the Department of Art History Glasgow University; the Mackintosh School of Architecture; the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London; University of Nottingham Critical Theory and Architecture Programme; University of Southern California; University of Helsinki. I am grateful for critical comments from participants at all these venues.

I am indebted to a number of invaluable conversations with Iain Boyd Whyte, Director of the Centre for Architectural History and Theory, Edinburgh University, which guided me towards fruitful lines of research.

I am especially thankful to Christian Hermansen who, as Director of Studies, allowed me to take on this project and, as Supervisor, waited patiently for its completion. His critical comments on an earlier draft of the thesis gave an impetus to tighten central arguments which are hopefully reflected in this final version.

Finally, I am especially grateful to Maureen McQuillan and Ann Settle for typing the final version of the dissertation.

Responsibility for the views contained in this study remain my own.

David Frisby
Glasgow
January 1998

Otto Wagner, um 1880

INTRODUCTION

Reading Wagner - Reading Modernity

INTRODUCTION

Reading Wagner - Reading Modernity

Modernity [Die Moderne]

That is awkward, said the young girl and stretched her head resting on her left arm - that is awkward. You are always talking about it day and night and no one knows what it is ... really ... modernity.

Hermann Bahr, (January 1889)

One day there will probably be a good art expert who will undertake to write the history of modernity in Vienna. He will have a very difficult task ahead of him, since the documents that have been left to him from our times in word and deed are full of contradictions.

Alfred Roller (1900)

Neither Moderne Architektur nor Die Grossstadt, nor Wagner's articles can 'explain' his architecture. Those writings say only what verbal language can say about the conditions for meaning in another language.

Manfredo Tafuri

I

The general title of the present study 'Metropolitan Architecture and Modernity', and its specific reference to Otto Wagner (1841-1918) in context in the period around 1890 to his death in 1918, appears at first sight to be well-worn territory. Both Otto Wagner and fin-de-siècle Vienna have been extensively researched in the past two decades or more.[1] However, the particular focus of most of these studies has produced a reading of both Wagner and Vienna at the turn of the century that is in need of additional contextualisation and some revision.[2] If we explore a wider time frame, then it becomes clear that the work of Otto Wagner is initially applauded in the 1870s but then widely contested in the mid 1890s, but especially after his establishment as Hasenauer's successor

at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts in 1894, and even more especially after the publication of his Moderne Architektur in 1896 (written 1895-6). This disputed achievement by a major, if not the major successful architect on the Viennese architectural scene around the turn of the century is countered by several largely favourable assessments of his work after his official retirement in 1911,[3] and especially Joseph Lux's[4] highly positive study (published in 1914) and later Hans Tietze's[5] brief study (published in 1922). The obituaries of 1918 are testimony to Wagner's major impact[6] but in the succeeding decades (including the 1920s, when the overwhelming majority of architects working on public housing schemes are students of Wagner) Wagner's significance waned dramatically.

It is true that a resurgence in interest has taken place since the 1960s.[7] But despite the dramatic increase in works on fin-de-siecle Vienna since the 1970s and studies of Otto Wagner, it still remains the case that there is no biography of Wagner.[8] Less surprisingly, given the focus upon the fin-de-siecle, the details of Wagner's life and work before 1890 remain relatively unresearched when compared with the material available on the period from around 1900 to his death in 1918. The detailed two volume presentation of Wagner's works from 1860 to 1918 by Otto Graf[9] could probably be supplemented by additional material from the earliest period of his activity as architect in the 1860's and 1870's, as Peter Haiko and, most recently Graf have sought to do.[10]

Only the basic biographical contours of Wagner's development can be outlined here. Born in 1841 in Penzing (incorporated into Vienna in 1890), to a royal Hungarian court notary and his wife, whose father had been imperial court and military archivist, the family moved three months after his birth to a small Palais (in the Gottweiggasse) built by the future architect of the parliament building, Theophil von Hansen. Wagner recounts that as a child he 'showed great eagerness for creative things, drawing, physics, graphic geometry'[11] during his private tuition (to the age of 9), his period in the Academic

Gymnasium in Vienna and the Benedictine school in Kremsmünster. In 1857 he entered the Polytechnic Institute in Vienna for three and a half years and, with Hansen's encouragement, attended Schinkel's Bauschule in Berlin where he studied under Schinkel's assistant Busse. In 1861 he returned to study in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna under Siccardsburg and van der Nüll until 1863 where, according to his diary, 'Siccardsburg took over my artist's soul and encouraged the principle of utility in me, whilst van der Nüll appeared to me as an unachievably talented draughtsman'.[12]

A later diary entry recalls a childhood memory in which, travelling in a storm in a fine four wheel coach after church one Sunday with his mother and brother, Wagner 'found it very pleasant to have an attractive coach, and the profession that would make it possible seemed to me very much worth striving for. Henceforth, I wished to be an architect and owner of a carriage'.[13]

As Haiko[14] has shown in another context, Wagner appears active in both respects in the 1860s with designs for, and financing of, a series of rented apartment blocks and other establishments (theatre, Vergnügungsetablissements, etc.), as well as better known projects. This building type - the rented apartment block [Miethaus] - to which Wagner was later to ask his students to devote their energies in their first year of architectural study, was produced with frequency by Wagner himself in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, - both in outlying districts as well as in the Ringstrasse zone as he became more well known. However, as Wagner notes in Moderne Architektur, when an architect works independently and seeks to establish himself in the first ten years he may well create work of art 'which in later days he will hardly look back upon with satisfaction'.[15] Indeed, in one of the still remaining vitas for 1876, it is other more prestigious works that are highlighted. After completing his studies, Wagner relates that,

> in 1862 I entered the studio of the architect and Professor Heinrich Ritter von Forster senior. [in fact only for a short period, but since Forster was a leading figure in the Ringstrasse

project, this is glossed over - D.F.] Already a short time later I was able to receive some buildings to complete independently and I then participated in the competition for the Kursaal building in Vienna. The jury unanimously awarded my project first prize [but the project was not completed - D.F.]

My participation in the major competition for the Berlin cathedral had an equally favourable result, a competition out of which I was the sole Viennese architect awarded a prize.

A large number of projects kept me busy up to the year 1868, amongst which were: the agricultural exhibition for his Imperial Excellency Archduke Albrecht ..., the construction of the villa in Baden presently in the possession of his Imperial Excellency Archduke Rainer, as well as the design of the Palais Epstein at the Burgring, etc. etc.

Along with larger private buildings in Vienna and Pest [Budapest] ... in 1867 I was entrusted with the design of the new synagogue in Pest, a building which even the art historian Lübke mentions with great praise.

Included in my activities are indeed several private buildings and works for the World Exhibition in Vienna ...

In this period falls the idea first conceived by myself for the redirection of the river Wien and the construction of a boulevard to Schönbrunn palace, a project which had to be abandoned due to the unfavourable circumstances of the time [probably the stock exchange collapse of 1873 and the economic depression - D.F.].

[...]

In addition, I would mention the successes which I have had in my most recent competition entries: Thus, my project for the Palace of Justice was purchased by the Ministry of Justice and, in the competition for the parliament building in Lemberg [L'viv], I was awarded second prize. I achieved a quite major success in my last competition entry, plans for the town hall in Hamburg, in which, in the largest competition that has ever existed ... and out of 136 architects of all countries I received second prize.

If I may be permitted to add a few words from the thematic recommendations from the jury of this competition ....

The jury stated: "The design of the exterior architecture, in its approach that is true to style [stylgerecht] solemn and monumental, can be characterised as the most outstanding achievement of the competition".[16]

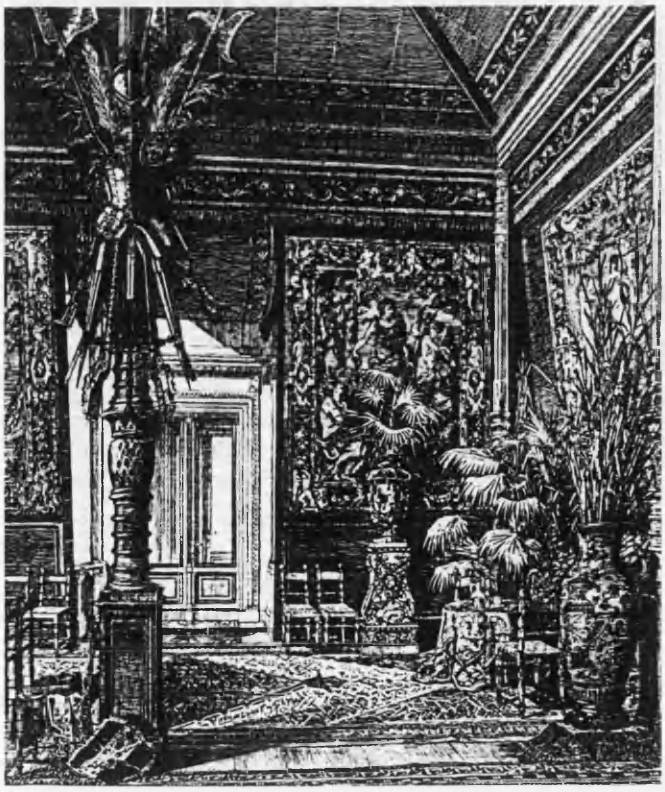
Of interest in this autobiographical sketch is the glossing over the many other mundane (and often speculative) engagement in the construction of rented apartment blocks, the commendations of Wagner's adherence to true historical styles (which he so pointedly rejects later) and his early interest in the regulation of the Wien river and a proposed grande boulevard to Schönbrunn.

Wagner relates in his diary that his 'inner life begins in November 1879. Everything earlier was mistakes and moral deviations'.[17] This coincides not merely with his relationship to his future wife but also with his recognition as a significant and accepted architect. For in contrast to the astonished and, in some quarters, hostile reaction to his inaugural lecture in 1894, his Moderne Architektur and many subsequent projects of those who had hitherto viewed Wagner as a 'safe', orthodox architect, Wagner in 1879 received acclaim for his designs (in part together with Hans Makart) for the Emperor's silver wedding ceremony and procession.[18] He became, according to Feldegg, the 'most outstanding adherent of the Viennese Renaissance'.[19] The editor of the Österreichische Kunst-Chronik in April 1879 enthused over Wagner's designs for the festive ceremony in front of the Burgthor (the Ringstrasse entrance to the imperial palace): 'What a significant progress lies in Otto Wagner's designs compared with that undefinable "style" of festive occasions in the recent ceremonies in Germany, Belgium and Holland'.[20] (Illustration 1) Wagner was granted freedom of the city for his achievement and honorary gifts. Similar praise was forthcoming in September of the same year for Wagner's 'Diana-Baths' on the Danube.[21] In September 1880, his Franz-Josef column at the end of the Praterstrasse (and thus at the major entrance to the Prater park) was applauded as a (major embellishment' of the city's 'street physiognomy'. Indeed, 'the Franz Josef-Säule will also be a significant monument for Vienna and its architect, Mr. Wagner, can be very pleased with his success and the recognition of his work'.[22] (I.2) Wagner's own intention with this monument, in a

Imperial Pavillion and Tent (1879)

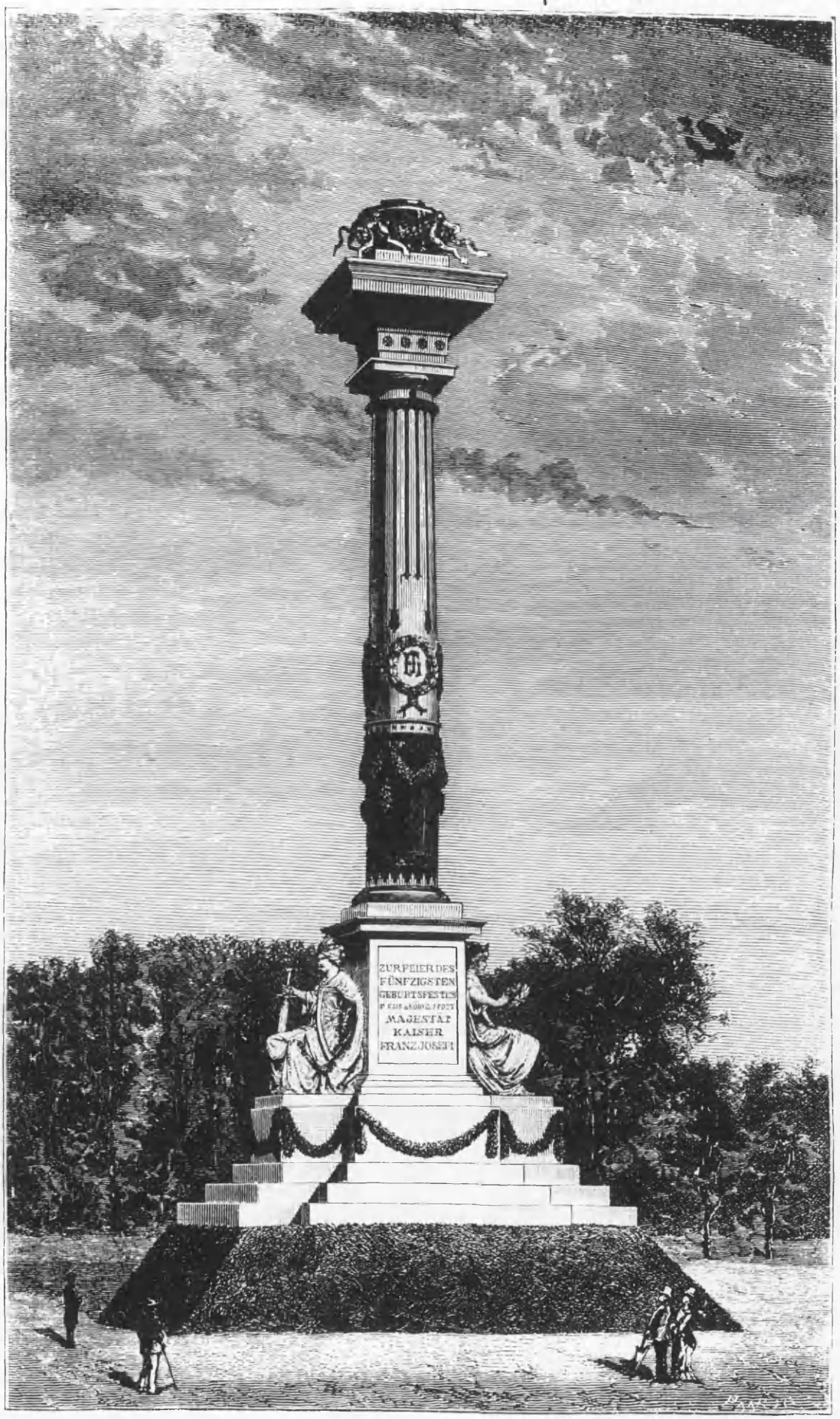
I.1.

143. Festzelt, Pavillons und Tribünen vor dem äußeren Burgtor, errichtet anläßlich der silbernen Hochzeit des Kaiserpaares 1879. Festzelt aus rotem Tuch, die Flügelbauten aus Holz und Leinwand.



144. Innenansicht des Festzelts

Imperial Column: Praterstern I. 2.



Die Franz Josef-Säule am Praterstern.

Entworfen und aufgebaut von Architekt **Otto Wagner.**

Original-Holzschnitt von Hermann Paar in Wien.

letter to his bride, is 'that I start out from the idea to enable the people of my fatherland through the understandably difficult to understand the language of architects, to decorate our city with such a monument that is so impoverished with regard to perspectival end points'.[23] In his Moderne Architektur Wagner was to take up the issue of the intelligibility of the language of architecture and to emphasize the importance of crowning off street perspectives with monuments.

Graf has suggested that in the period around 1880 or at least 'between 1880 and 1882 Wagner found himself'.[24] 'Certainly in the decade of the 1880s he developed his 'free Renaissance' style in proposals such as the 'Artibus project' (not carried out), in the Länderbank (1888) (I.3,4), Stadiongasse (1882) (I.5) and Rennweg (1889) (I.6) and many other major projects. This was the decade in which Wagner was building in the Ringstrasse zone itself, as in the Stadiongasse (with, as he put it, 'simple clear motifs'), as he had earlier on the Ringstrasse itself (Schottenring, 1877). (I.7) Wagner was too self confident in his Moderne Architektur to mention that, with regard to its critique of Historicism and perhaps in other respects too, the volume was a kind of self-critique when it appeared in 1896.

By the end of the 1880's decade, Wagner had begun to search for a style appropriate to modern times which he describes as a Nutzstil, a style for use, a style appropriate to modern Realism.[25] This purposive orientation becomes evident in the succeeding decade with Wagner's submissions for the city regulation competition in 1893/94[26] and his appointment as architect for the city railway in 1894 and work on the regulation of the Danube,[27] both of which were only completed at the end of the decade. Wagner's eventual success in constructing the Kirche am Steinhof (1904) and the Post Office Savings Bank (1903-1910), is not matched by success with other major public projects in this period. All the proposals for the Karlsplatz area - museum, hotel,

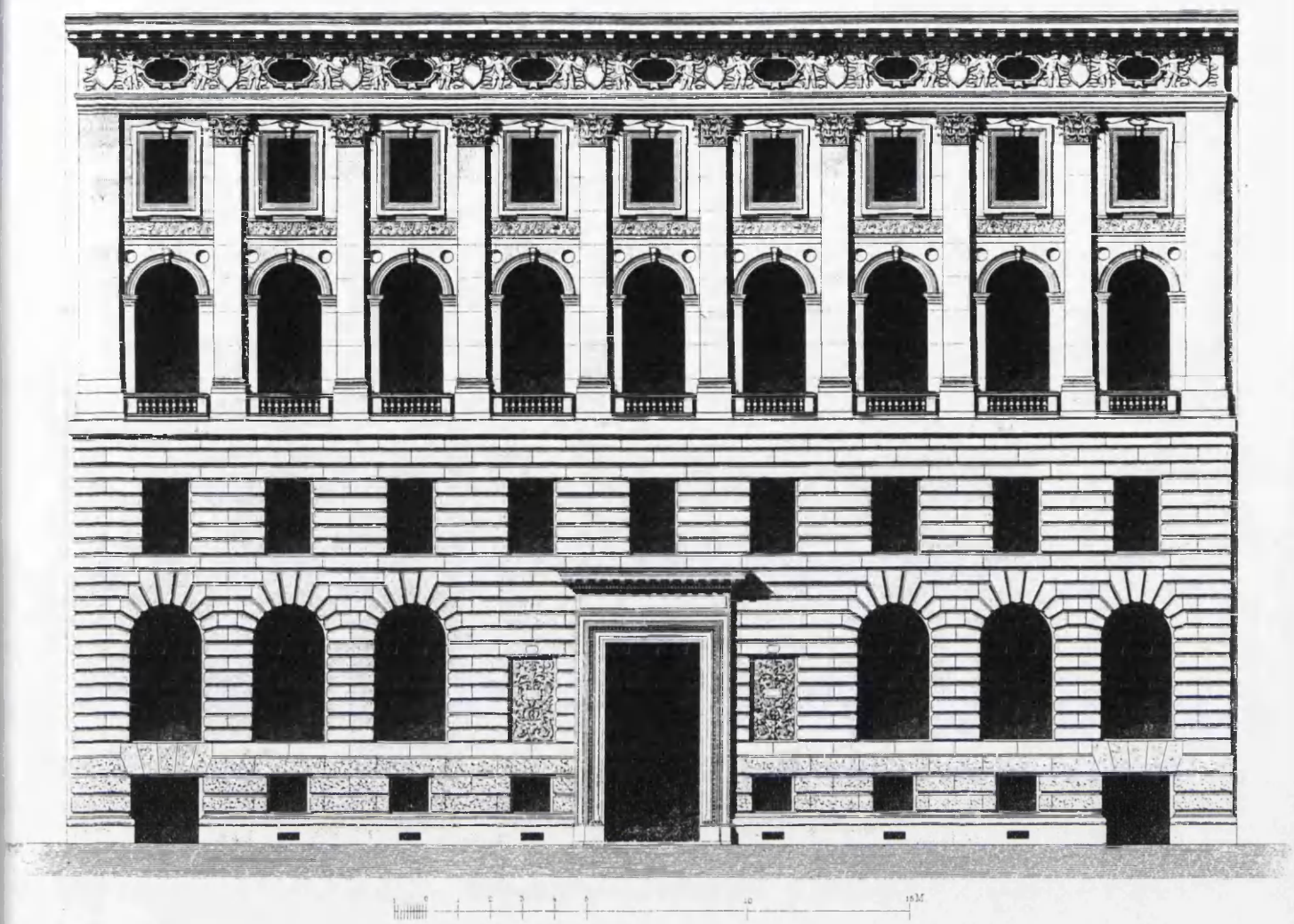
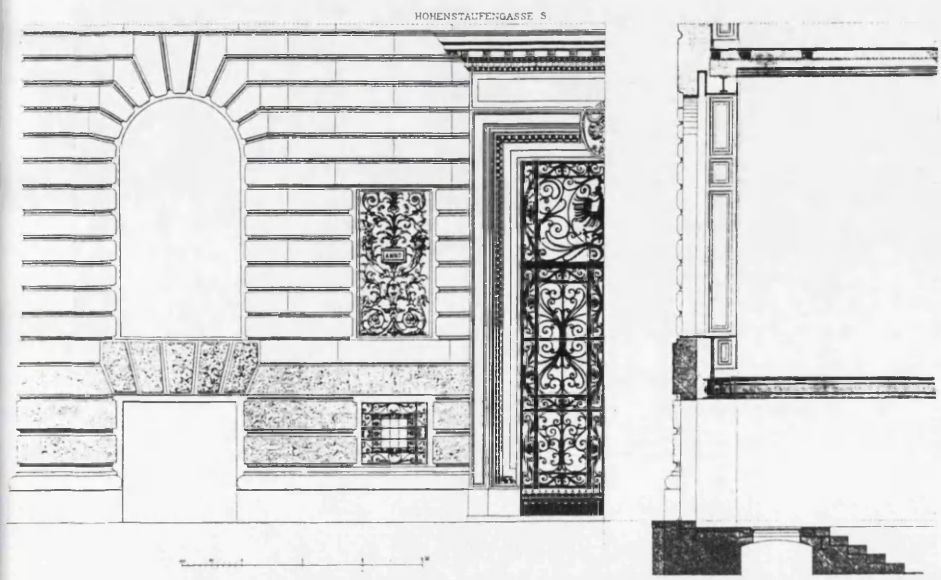
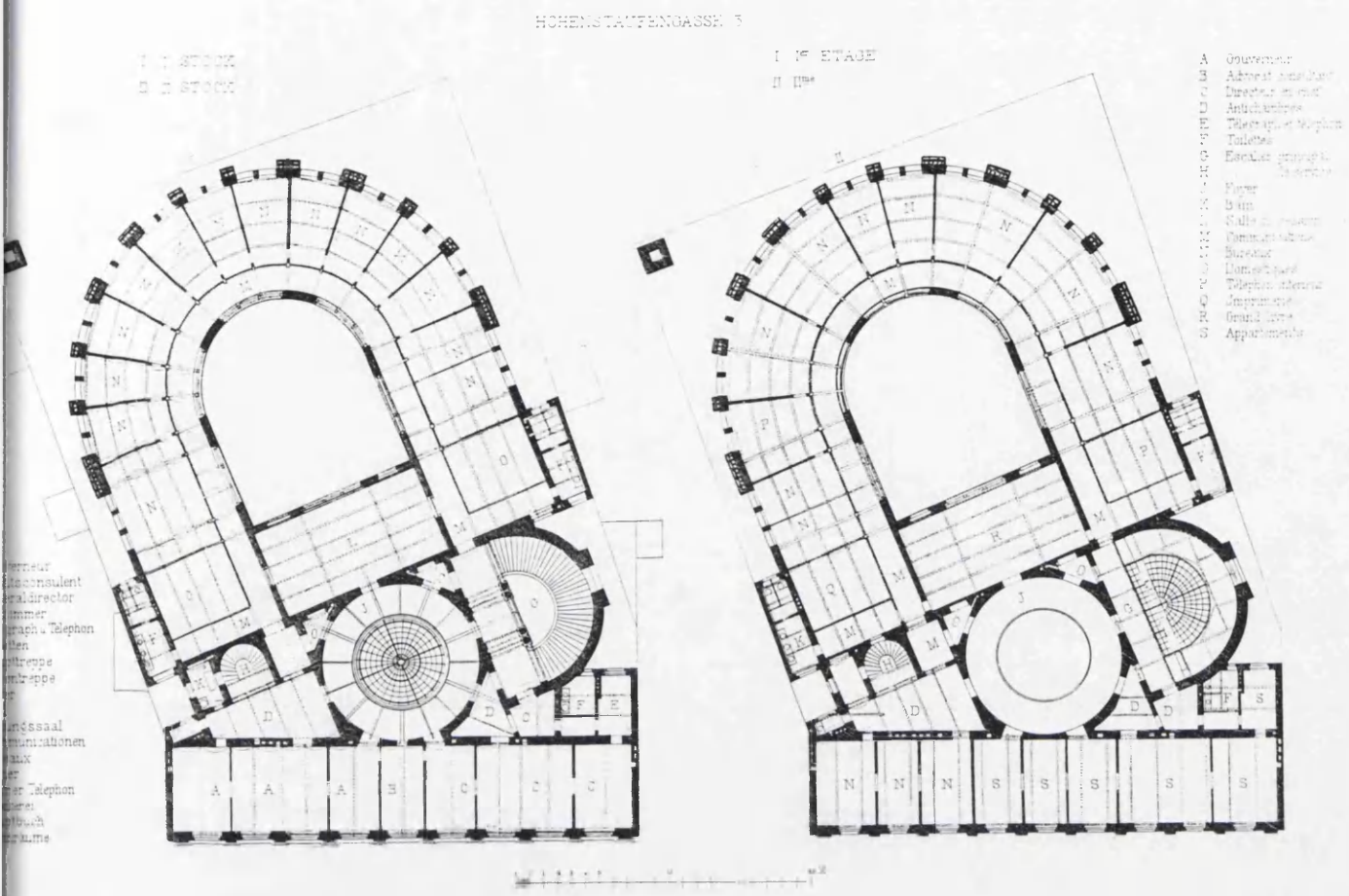


Abb. 79, 49 *Länderbank, Aufriß der Fassade*

Abb. 80, 49 *Länderbank, Detail der Fassade*

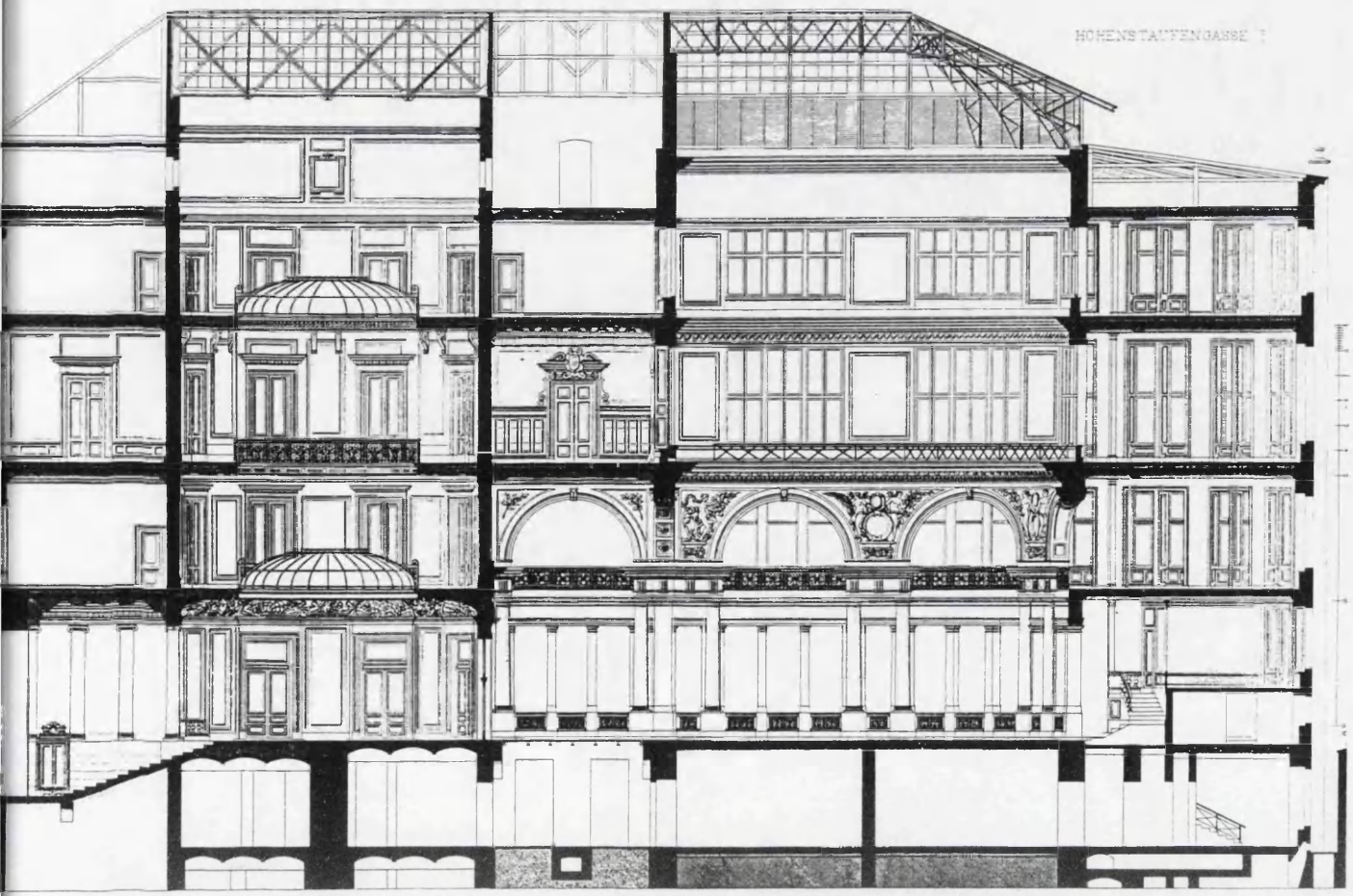


Länderbank



77, 49 *Länderbank, Grundrisse, erster und zweiter Stock*

78, 49 *Länderbank, Längenschnitt*



Stadiongasse I.5

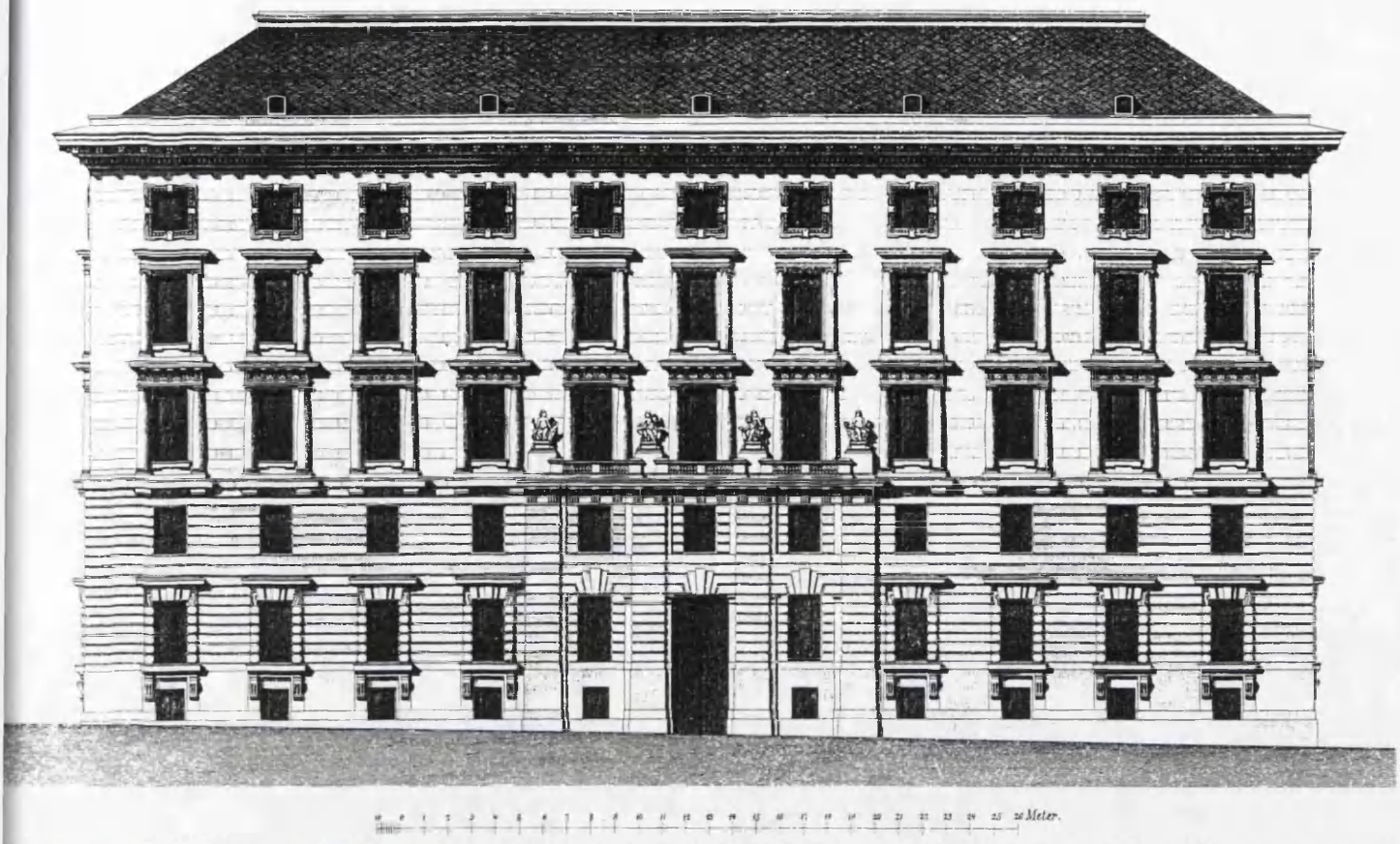
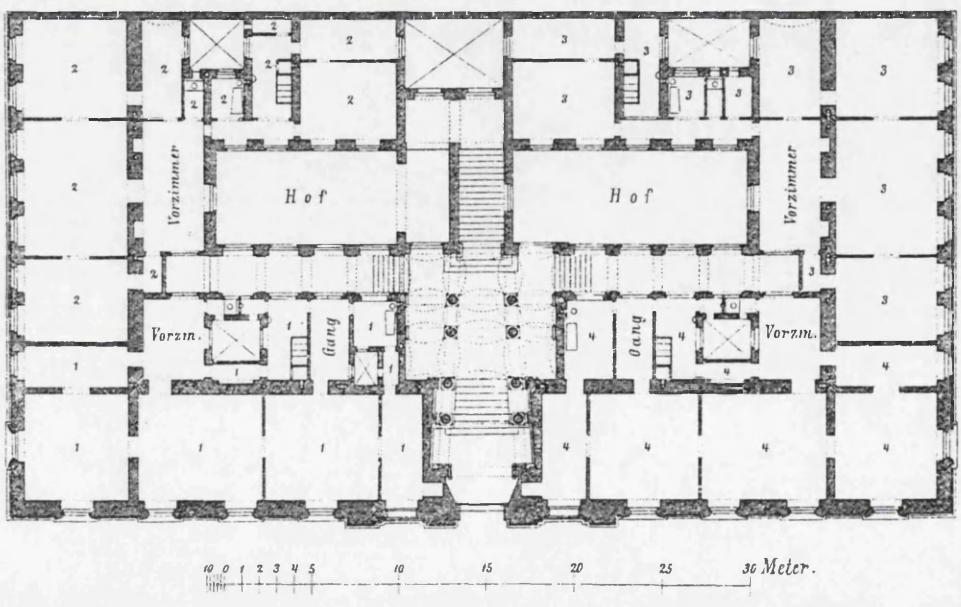


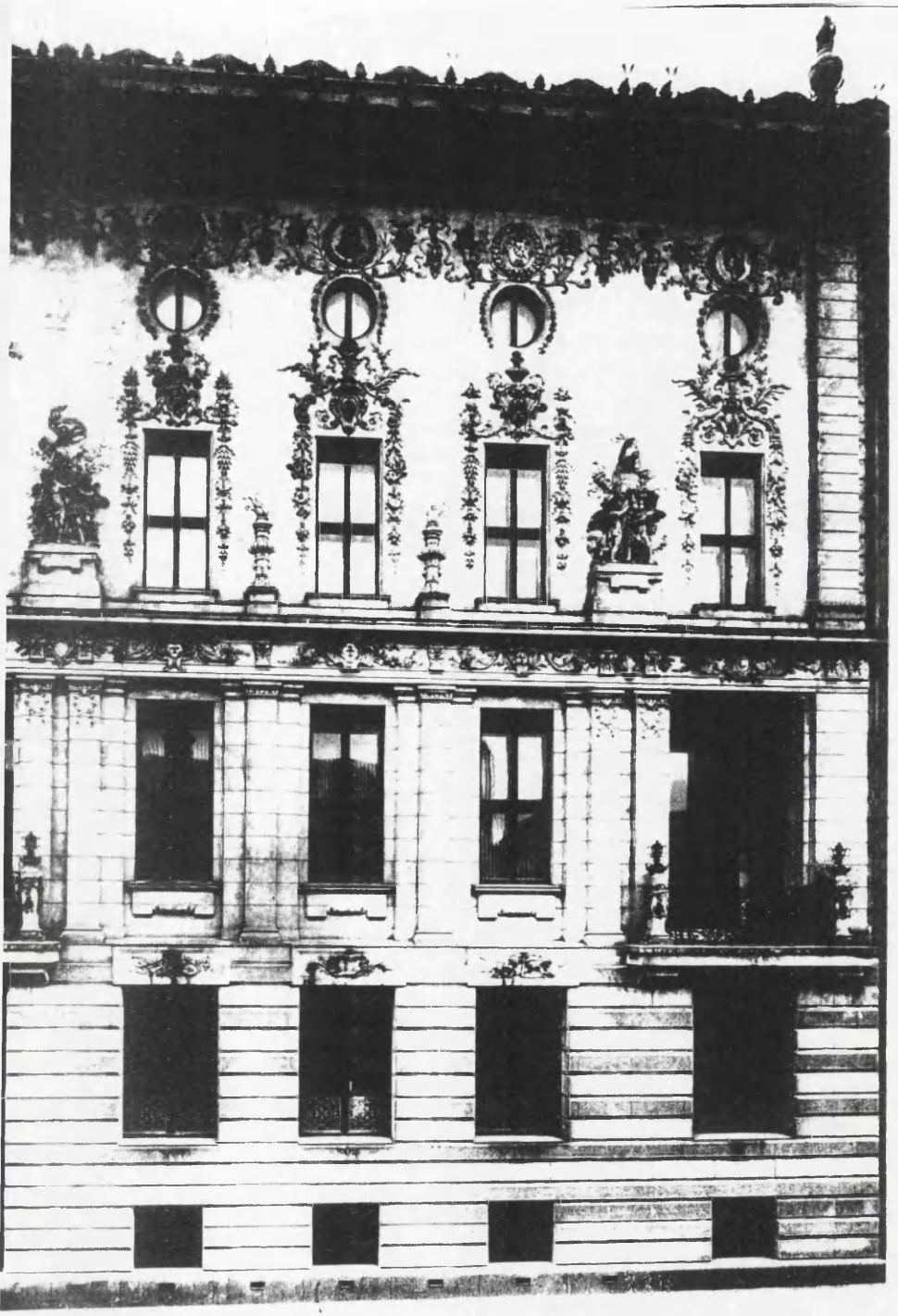
Abb. 83, 50 *Stadiongasse, Aufriß der Fassade*

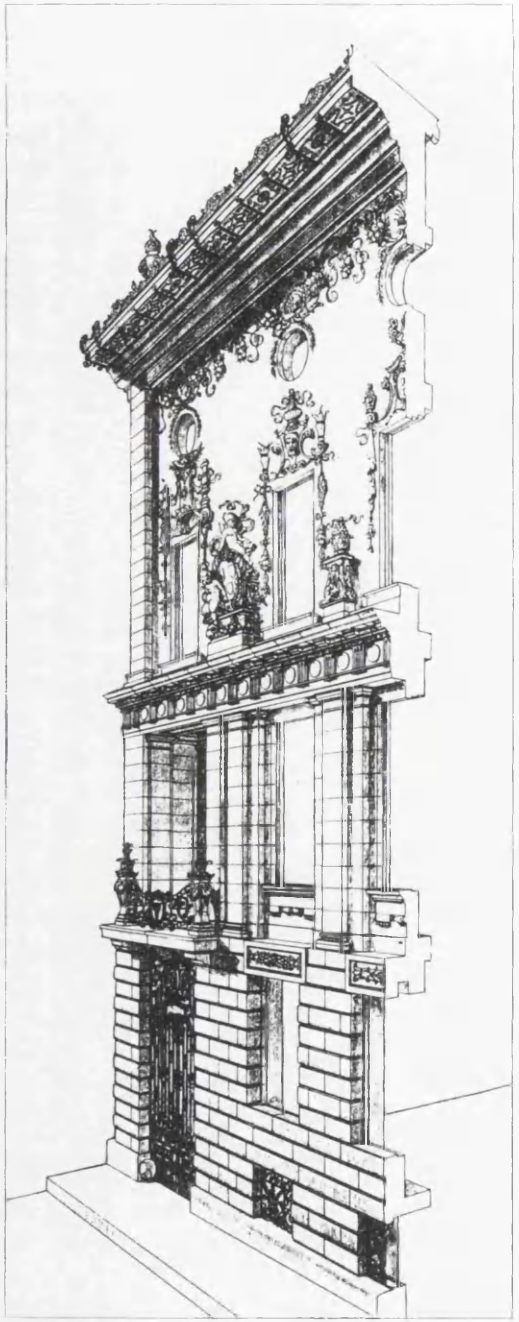
Abb. 85
Blatt 46, Aufriß
Abb. 83
Blatt 47, Photographische Ansicht
Blatt 48, Photographische Ansicht des Vestibüls

Pläne:
1:100
1. Situation
2. Keller
3. Souterrain
4. Parterre
5. Mezzanin
6. 1. Stock
7. 2. Stock
8. 3. Stock
9. Dachboden
10. Fassade Stadiongasse
11. Fassade Bartensteingasse
12. Schnitt AB
13. Schnitt CD/Durchgang
Baupolizei für den 1. Bezirk

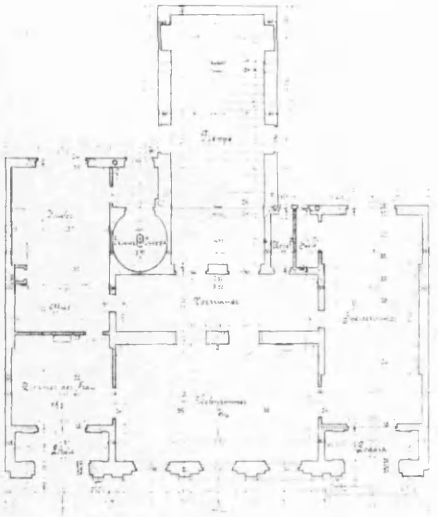
Abb. 84, 50 *Stadiongasse, Grundriß, Erdgeschoß*



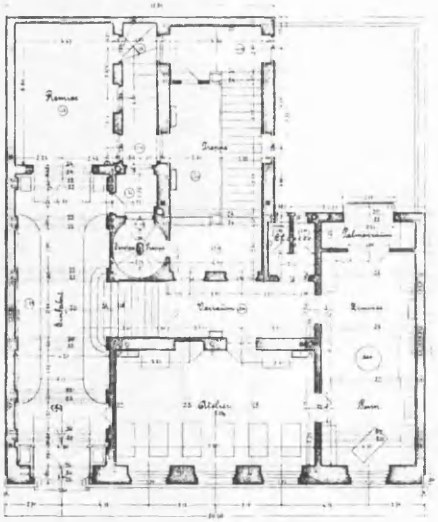




119.—120. PALAIS WAGNER, Rennweg 3 (später Palais Hoyos; erbaut 1890/91): Ansicht und perspektivischer Fassadenschnitt.



121.—122. PALAIS WAGNER, Rennweg 3: oben Grundriß des ersten Obergeschosses, unten Erdgeschoßgrundriß.



Rennweg I.C

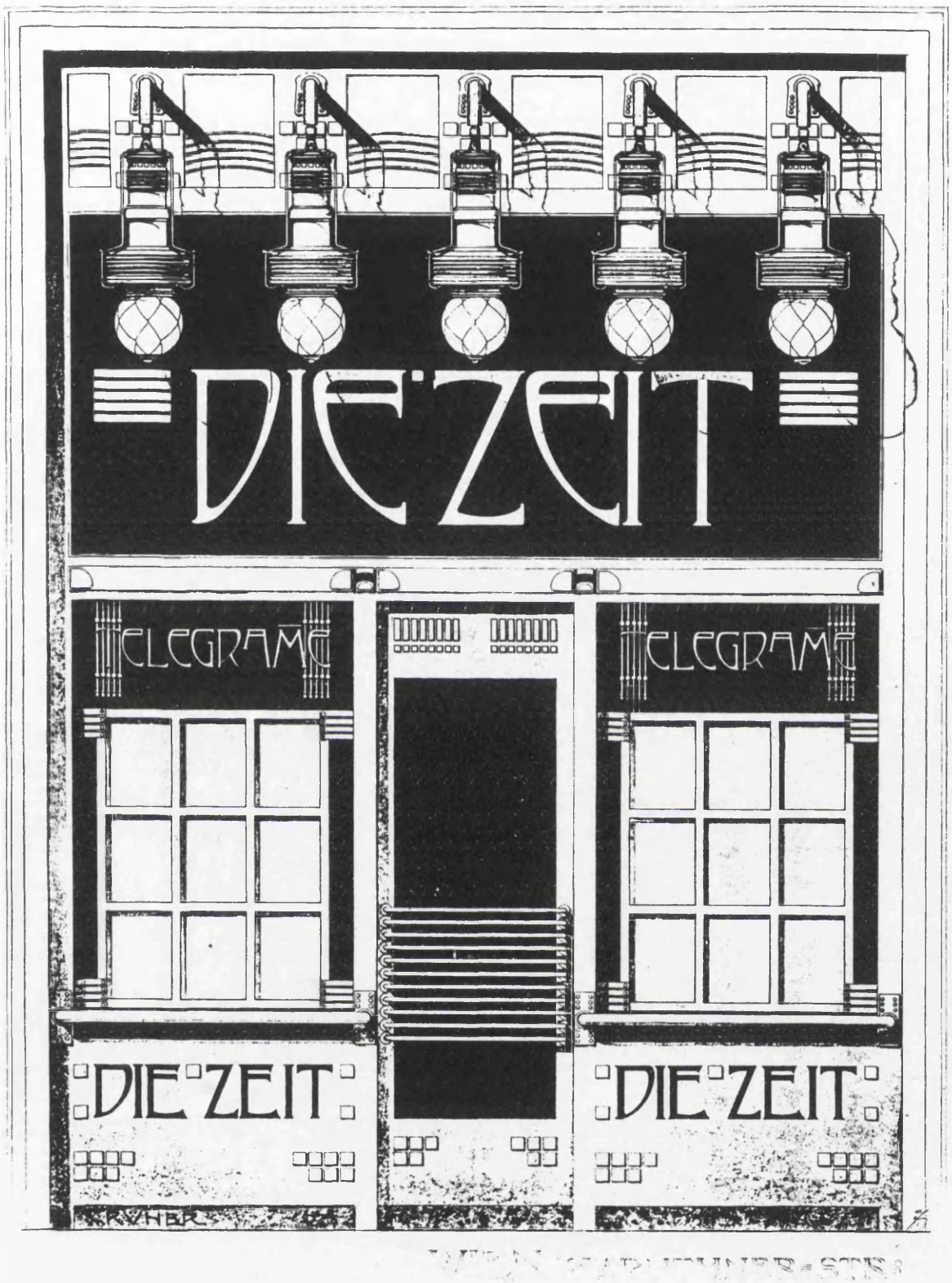
Schottenring I.7

department store - down to 1918 came to nothing.[28] The confrontation with a dominant culture resistant to modernism, especially after Wagner's inaugural address of 1894 in the Academy of Fine Arts, publication of his Moderne Architektur in 1896, and his support for the Secession (symbolised by his student Joseph Olbrich's designs and completion of the Secession building in 1898), crucially contributed to his lack of success with major projects in the cultural sphere or in key areas of the city (the competition for a new War Ministry - to be built on the Ringstrasse - went to Ludwig Baumann). In the early part of this century down to his death in 1918 Wagner did complete the newspaper office for 'Die Zeit'(I.8), a hospital, a second villa for himself (I.9), two apartment blocks along the river Wien (I.10) and his last apartment block (Neustiftassse) in 1909 (I.11) and his last building, the Waldschule (I.12), completed in January 1918.[29]

His impact upon Viennese architectural world was, of course, much greater than the fate of some of these projects suggests. From 1894 until his retirement from the Chair of Architecture in 1911 (thought he continued to take students after formal retirement), Wagner trained a whole generation of young architects who went on to work not merely in Vienna but also in many of the areas of the Empire and beyond.[30]

Although commentators such as Tafuri[31] have downplayed the significance of Wagner's texts for 'explaining' his architecture, the role of these texts in the Viennese context and their importance for understanding part of the discourse on modernity in Vienna is worthy of further study. Given the limited space for analysis, the less well covered period down to 1900 has been chosen in order to contextualise the interaction between the architectural discourse on modernity in Vienna, the city's development into a modern metropolis and Wagner's call for a modern architecture appropriate to such a metropolis. The aim of the present study is therefore to make a contribution to the understanding of the discourse on modernity in Vienna through a focus upon some of

O. Wagner: Die Zeit' Office front (1902) I.8



31 Otto Wagner: Zeichnung des Portals für das Depeschenbüro »Die Zeit«, Wien, 1902

O. Wagner: Villa Wagner (1912) I.9

Die Qualität des Baukünstlers, Villa Wagner

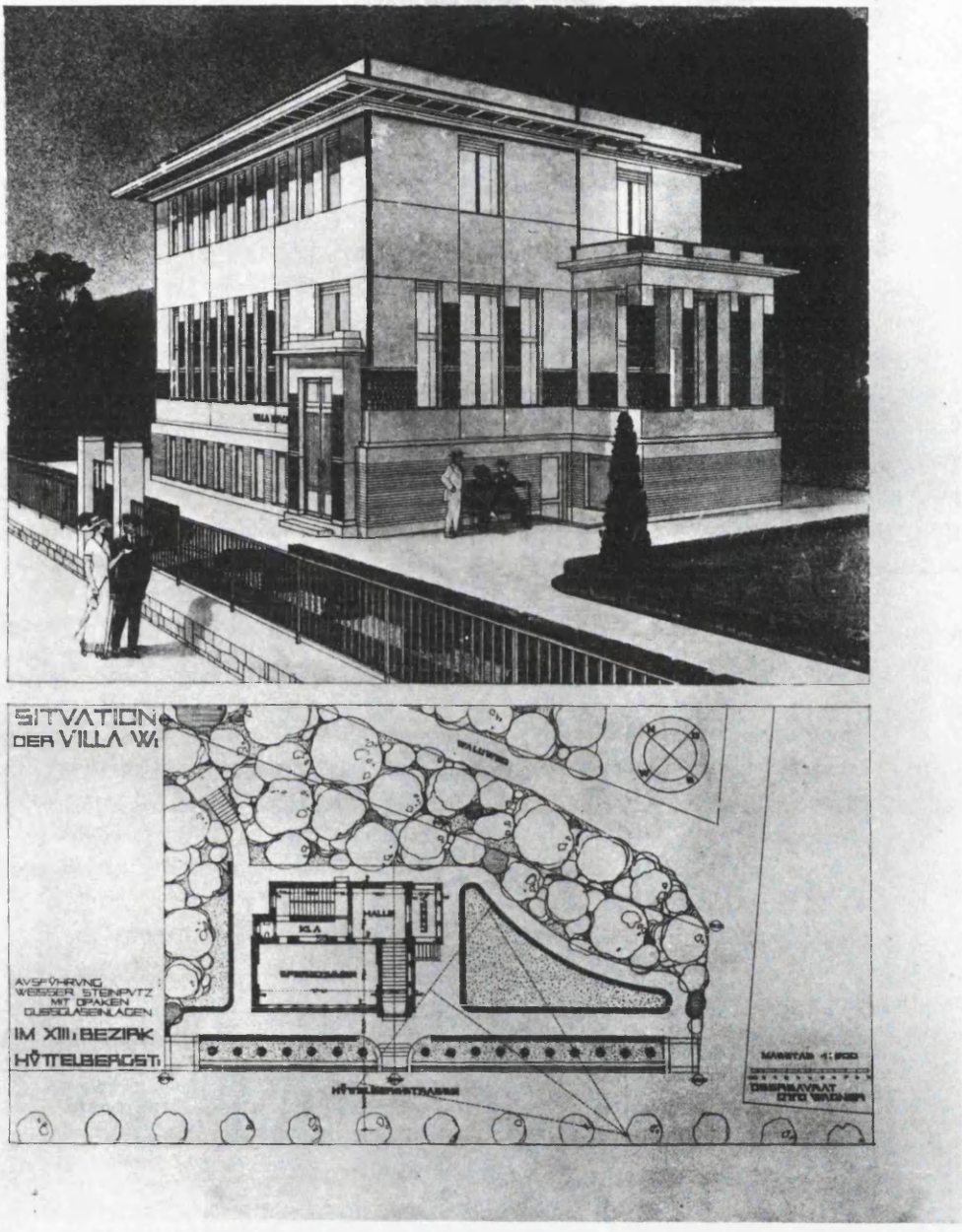


Abb. 895, 161, 18 *Villa Wagner, Ansicht und Situation*

Pränumerations-Preise
-jährig (inclusive Postversendung):
Oesterreich-Ungarn . . K 32·—
Deutschland . . . . Mk. 28·60
das übrige Ausland . Frcs. 40·—

Das Bauten-Album
an auch separat bezogen werden.
K 24·—, Mk. 22·—, Frcs. 30·—.

rtionspreiss 20 h für die viermal
gespaltenne Nonpareillezeile.
Erste Seite 30 h.

WIENER L. Wienzeile 38

BAUINDUSTRIE-ZEITUNG.

Redigirt von Ing. Prof. Josef Röttinger.

Die „Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung" erscheint jeden Donnerstag und enthält
ein Bauten-Album von 100 Bildern
hervorragender Bauten aus Wien, Oesterreich-Ungarn und dem Auslande (Wohn- und Geschäftshäuser, Villen, Palais und öffentliche Bauten, Monumente und Brunnen, Details, Interieurs, Sculpturen) in Lichtdruck und Phototypien nach speciellen photographischen Aufnahmen.

Oesterr. Postsparcassen-Conto 825.373.
Ungar. Postsparcassen-Conto 2584.
Eingetragen unter Nr. 4093 der österr. und Nr. 8063 a der deutschen Zeitungspreisliste.

. 15. Wien, 10. Jänner 1901. XVIII. Jahrgang.

I·10

Modernes Wohnhaus, Wienzeile.

Arch.: k. k. Ober-Baurath Prof. **Otto Wagner.**

)N den vielen Neubauten, welche längs des regulirten Wienflusses in den letzten Jahren entstanden sind, :n die beiden Wohnhäuser, welche aus dem Atelier des h. Ober-Baurathes Prof. Otto Wagner hervorgingen, durch Originalität der Façadendurchbildung auf.

Das auf dem untenstehenden Bilde wiedergegebene nhaus zeichnet sich durch die geniale Lösung der Eck- ie und die Gesimsbildung aus. Der Schmuck der Façade durchaus in Weiss und Gold gehalten und gibt dem ecte ein sehr vornehmes Aussehen. Die Lösung der Ladenvorbauten ist ebenfalls neu und eigenartig, kann aber nicht als gelungen bezeichnet werden. Zweifellos liegt in der Anordnung des durchlaufenden, zwei Geschosse umfassenden Balcons eine Neuerung, doch ist hiemit die Lösung der Ladenvorbaue nicht um einen Schritt weiter gebracht und scheint es fast, als ob das Bedürfniss der Ladeninhaber nach grossen Ausstellungsflächen mit den architektonischen Anforderungen, welche an das Sockelgeschoss eines mehrstöckigen Wohnhauses gestellt werden müssen, unvereinbar wäre.

Modernes Wohnhaus. Wienzeile. Arch.: k. k. Ober-Baurath Prof. Otto Wagner.

Abb. 838, 148, 11 *Neustiftgasse, Ansicht*

Abb. 1068, 190 *Waldschule, Ansicht*

Waldschule I.12

Wagner's writings and their context in discourses on modernity, the modern metropolis and city planning and Vienna.

II

The wider context for this investigation is the debate on the nature of modernity and its connection with the development of the modern metropolis. The specific focus is upon Wagner's reading of modernity and the modern metropolis and the conclusions he draws from this for a modern architecture, as well as contemporary architectural discourse on modernity and the building of the modern city [Städtebau]. For an architect who claims that modern architecture should reflect or express modern life - whose most modern element was, in turn, the modern metropolis - the delineation of the features of modern life is central to his project.[32]

In turn, a reading of modernity implies also a reading of the modern metropolis. Both modernity and the modern metropolis - and Wagner sees them as being intimately connected - can be read in a specific and concrete manner as well as more abstractly (as general or even universal features of modernity and the modern metropolis). But the process of engaging in such readings presupposes that the concepts of modernity and the modern metropolis are themselves legible. The first chapter of the present study therefore examines the emergence of a discourse on the modern and modernity which is underway already in the 1880s, in however a discontinuous and fragmented manner. By the mid-1890s, and some years after the concept is introduced into other cultural fields in Vienna (notably in literature in 1890), the concept of modernity enters architectural discourse in Vienna - prompted, in part, by Wagner's own contribution in his Moderne Architektur. This discourse is traced up to 1900, though of course, the debate on architectural modernity continues long afterwards.

The notion of the metropolis and discussion of its features predates this discourse on modernity in the 1890s. But two processes converge in the early 1890's in Vienna which contribute to the creation of a new discourse on the metropolis. The first is the substantive process of the expansion of the city after the extension of its boundaries in 1890, generating - or rather regenerating, since it was already in existence - a discourse on New Vienna in contrast to Old Vienna. This juxtaposition was already in existence at least since the first extension of the city was promulgated after the imperial decree of 1857 (with the demolition of the 'old' fortifications around the city and the dramatic construction of the Ringstrasse zone extending over the succeeding thirty years or more) and the progressive confrontation and ostensible separation of the old inner city from its new surrounding districts. The creation and extension of the modern metropolis with all its infrastructural requirements itself created a discourse on the extent to which a 'modern' Vienna could again penetrate 'old' Vienna.

The second theoretical development - again based on existing discourse (notably Reinhard Baumeister and others and reflections on the practice of Baron Haussmann) - was the dramatic expansion of a debate on the purpose and nature of city planning, or literally city building [Städtebau] with the publication of works by Camillo Sitte in Vienna in 1889 and Joseph Stübben in Germany in 1890. Ostensibly, this discourse juxtaposed a concern with the aesthetics of the city over against a concern for its practical traffic and hygienic requirements, and the implications of these two positions - aesthetic and functional - for the physiognomy of the modern metropolis. Wagner intervenes indirectly and practically in this discourse with his submissions to the competition for the regulation of Vienna in 1893-1894 and theoretically with his Moderne Architektur of 1896.

However, the content of this discourse on city building has much wider implications than is suggested by its concern for metropolitan infrastructure and the

process of modernisation. The restructuring of the city's physiognomy crucially transforms our bodily and sensual movement, orientation and practices in the new spaces that are created by the widening of streets, the creation of whole ensembles of street furniture and provisions for traffic (and interaction), for instance, all of which transform our modes of experiencing that which is new in the metropolis. Thus, what is often regarded as part of the process of modernisation as a precondition for modernity is itself crucial to the formation of modernity understood in this manner.

The third chapter seeks to bring the discourse on modernity into a conjunction with the discourse on the metropolis in key texts by Wagner. The starting point is the reception of his Moderne Architektur (1896) by his contemporaries and the issues that arise out of the call to architects to create an architecture that is appropriate to modern life, to modernity. The features of modern metropolitan life which Wagner highlights are then analysed in detail in order to draw out their distinctive and common elements. A brief examination is undertaken of the relationship of Wagner's delineation of modern life to opposition to his modernist programme in Vienna. Such an investigation raises the question of the nature of Wagner's reading of modernity and the modern metropolis, in particular, to what extent these are readings of Vienna or more abstract perspectives on modernity and the metropolis in general.

III

If a feature of modernity is experience of movement and differentiation, then this is no less true of the concept of modernity itself. There existed no single, unified conception of either modernity or modernism in Vienna at the turn of the century.[33] Further, even within a notion of modernity unsystematically assembled by Wagner, the tensions within

the features highlighted are quite apparent. Indeed, this tension and often contradictory tendencies may also be a characteristic of modernity itself. In particular, the tension between the recognition of modernity as dynamic and discontinuous, as ostensibly unregulated movement on the one hand and modernity as a process of rationalisation whose consequence is the regulation of movement, of a dynamic process is evident in much of the discourse on modernity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The notion that everything is in motion is a disturbing one and attempts to capture the 'labyrinth of movement' (von Stein) through regulation (statistical, social, political or monumental rationalisation, amongst many other forms) proved to be powerful strategies of containment.

But before strategies for appropriating modern experience in the metropolis could be set in motion, the problems faced in reading this modern metropolitan experience had to be confronted.[34] The notion of reading the modern metropolis as a text presupposes that it posses the features of textuality and that, in principle at least, it is legible (which does not exclude misreadings or a legibility only in the future). The textuality of the metropolis can be variously composed of its architecture, its spatial constellations, its objects (including street furniture) and its populace - and the interaction between these producing different readings. The reader of these texts has most often been subsumed under the ambiguous figure of the flâneur, even though the issue of readership raises other issues of access to the language and symbols of the text which may exclude individuals and groups from reading.[35] In the present context, it is architects and critics who are covered in this study and, of course, Otto Wagner.

Although it would go well beyond the scope of the present investigation, it should at least be indicated that the textuality of modern life, its reading and its interpretation cannot be taken for granted. Here we can only briefly indicate some of the ways in which

earlier 'theorists' of modernity have raised relevant problems. For Baudelaire, the dynamic dimension of experience of modernity as transitory, fleeting and fortuitous experience raised the problem of capturing the mobility and dynamism of this 'metropolitan text'.[36] The identification of modernity with endless movement is also present in Marx's treatment.[37] Although he spent little time on the built environment, the dimensions of modernity which he identified as the revolutionary new destruction of the past, the ever new destruction of the present and the ever-same reproduction of the 'socially necessary illusion' in the commodity form are relevant to reading metropolitan modernity.

The destruction of the past as built environment is both a feature of modernisation and a central theme in the debates surrounding the new discipline of city planning. The destruction of the present is manifested in the need for capital accumulation in the urban context to facilitate the maximization and cheapening of commodity production and an acceleration in the circulation of commodities.[38] The commodification of urban forms bestows upon them characteristics of the commodity form and especially the transformation of 'every product of labour into a social hieroglyphic.. [which] human beings try to decipher'.[39]

The modern metropolis as constellation of social hieroglyphics, as a new text, is a crucial theme in Futurist reflections upon the transformation of our modes of perception of the city. As Filippo Marinetti indicated in 1913,

> Today, whoever uses the teleprinter, the telephone, the grammophone, the train, the bicycle, the motorbike, the automobile, the ocean liner, the airship, the aircraft, the cinema, the major newspaper (synthesis of a day in the world) does not take into account the fact that these diverse types of communication, transport and information exercise a decisive influence upon a person's psyche.[40]

The list could be extended to cover the built environment, street furniture and other spatially located media, many of which just as decisively transform our everyday

perception and possibilities for orientation in the metropolis. Further, Futurist theses on the transformation of experience in the metropolis are associated with a positive judgment of this site of modernity, a celebration of the acceleration of metropolitan experience generated, in part, by new technologies. The metropolis as text, for Marinetti, is a rapidly moving entity, posing new problems for reading since both text and readers are in motion:

> Acceleration of life, which today has a rapid rhythm ... multifaceted and simultaneous levels of consciousness in one and the same person, ... Love of the new, of what has never been seen before ... enthusiasm for the city. Transcendence of distances and of longing for loneliness. Derision of heavenly peace in the greenery and the untouchable landscape, ... becoming accustomed to shortened viewpoints and optical syntheses, that are produced by the speed of trains and automobiles ... Love of speed, of abridgment, of the resumé. "Tell me everything quickly, in two words"[41]

In a very different context and all too briefly, Wagner too recognised the importance of the accelerating movement of the observer and its consequences for modern metropolitan architecture.

The city as a constellation of signs to be read becomes a theme of several writers in the inter-war period. Franz Hessel, with whom Walter Benjamin originally intended writing a couple of articles on the Parisian arcades, produced his own volume on flânerie in Berlin, addressing directly the metropolis as text.[42] For Hessel the reader of the metropolis is the flâneur, whose activity of strolling around the city and observing its images involves

> a kind of reading of the street, in which human faces, shop fronts, shop windows, cafe terraces, street cars, automobiles and trees become a wealth of equally valid letters of the alphabet that together result in words, sentences and pages of an ever-new book.[43]

Here Hessel identifies the built structures of the street and its furniture directly as textual components whose significance must be assembled by the reader.

Even closer to a reading of the architectural spaces of the modern metropolis are the reflections of Siegfried Kracauer, himself trained as an architect.[44] For Kracauer, the

metropolis is a labyrinth of spatial constellations that express the dreams of society, but which therefore requires a deeper reading than is initially intimated by Hessel. With reference to both exterior and internal spatial constellations, Kracauer declares that 'spatial images are the dreams of society. Wherever the hieroglyphics of any spatial image is deciphered, there the basis of social reality presents itself'.[45] Elsewhere he distinguishes two images of the city[46] - the one 'consciously formed' and found in plans and guide books, and the other arising out of 'fortuitous creations' that strike the observer as a distinctive configuration of buildings, streets and figures. Above all, Kracauer goes in search of the dreams embedded in spatial images since, for him, 'knowledge of cities is bound up with the deciphering of their dream-like expressive images'.[47] In a more positivistic reading of the city, Wagner's critique of Historicist facades led him to denounce their 'dream' as 'a lie'.

The city as dream 'text' was already developed by Louis Aragon in his Paris Peasant, exploring the decaying world of the Parisian arcade in the 1920's.[48] There Aragon declares that 'our cities are peopled with unrecognized sphynxes' [49] whose significance remains to be read. Although drawing initially upon Aragon, it was in fact Walter Benjamin who most fully explored the possibility of reading the city as text, as well as drawing attention to intertextuality in this context. If the city is a text, then the reflexive possibility can be posited of the text possessing affinities with the city: 'that which is written is like a city, to which the words are a thousand gateways'.[50] Although there are many instances of Benjamin reading the contemporary city in One Way Street,[51] Moscow Diaries[52] and elsewhere, it was his unorthodox historical projects reconstituting his childhood - in Berlin Childhood Around 1900[53] and Berlin Chronicle[54] and above all his textual reconstruction of 'Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century'[55] that are testimony to his detailed analysis of the city - its architecture, streets, population, traffic, street

furniture, interiors, etc. As Graeme Gilloch has demonstrated,[56] Benjamin's reading of the metropolis is a multifaceted one in which the city is explored as physiognomy ('a space to be read'), phenomenologically ('the city is a monad, a fragment within which the totality of modern life may be discerned'), as mythology, as history, as politics and as text. The city as text, as 'a linguistic cosmos' (Benjamin),[57] as 'a secret text to be read' (Gilloch) requires a special kind of reader of modern metropolitan life. Benjamin states his task as that of Hugo von Hofmonnsthal: '"Read what was never written". The reader called to mind here is the true historian'.[58] For Benjamin's project to be successful, he would have to train readers of his texts to read the labyrinth of the phenomenal world of the metropolis.

This brief intimation of some of the issues - which could be extended - arising out of the concept of reading modern metropolitan existence is intended to indicate that 'reading' modern life cannot be viewed unproblematically. As Peter Fritzsche suggests in his reconstruction of a reading of Berlin around the turn of the century based upon newspaper texts, 'texts do not speak for themselves in one voice, and they are not understood in the same way by all readers'.[59]

In the present context of a study that draws in part on architect's and critics' readings of modernity in Vienna in the late nineteenth century it may be necessary to distinguish between the professional and the lay person's reading of modern life and the modern metropolis. Here we might draw upon a distinction which Michel de Certeau, in 'Walking the City',[60] made between reading the city as 'geometrical' or 'geographical' space of visual, panoplic or theoretical constructions - which might be associated with architects' or city planners' reading - and reading 'an opaque and blind mobility characteristic of the bustling city - in which a migrational or metaphorical city thus, slips

into the clear text of the planned and readable city' - which might be associated with a lay person's everyday reading.

However, there are two relevant problems with this distinction. The first, which draws upon phenomenological and ethnomethodological insights, is that the first reading rests ultimately upon the second, or at least that the grounds for privileging the first reading must be demonstrated. The second problem arises from the notion of 'the clear text of the planned and readable city' which already concedes the 'clarity' of geometrical or geographical space. The first problem should lead us to inquire further into the location or siting of the professional's reading of the city or modern life (is it really a reading from above, for instance?). The second should lead us to question whether the building of cities [Städtebau] ever commenced from or created the clarity which de Certeau ascribes to it.

If de Certeau's distinction is transposed to the reading of 'modern life', then it has affinities not merely with a distinction between a conscious and a fortuitous reading (and therefore possessing similarity with Kracauer's distinction indicated above) but also with a distinction between two different readings of modernity. Modernity as a process of rationalisation (and progressive abstraction) and modernity as disintegration of basic categories of time, space and causality and experience as 'transitory, fleeting and fortuitous' (Baudelaire) are ostensibly two distinct conceptions of modernity. But the first might well emanate from a desire to regulate the second, to control the implications of its dynamic and disintegrating movement. The task of giving expression to modern metropolitan life - which Wagner saw as the crucial role of the modern architect - itself contained tensions that remained to be resolved.

CHAPTER ONE

Modernity - an incomplete debate

CHAPTER ONE

Modernity - An Incomplete Debate

> 10 May (Local News) This morning, adjacent to the Stroheckbrücke in the Rossau, an almost new overcoat was discovered and it is assumed that its owner threw himself into the Danube and found his death in the waves. According to one version, the article of clothing was already recognized as the property of the stock exchange agent Modern who has been missing since yesterday. This person is said to have been reduced to a beggar in the course of the week as a result of the panic.
>
> Wiener Zeitung (1873)

> I am modern. This is the reason why I am totally different from all the others....Modern - this means that I hate everything that already exists, every model, every imitation and permit no other law to dominate art other than the commandment of my momentary artistic sensation.
>
> Hermann Bahr (January 1889)

> We have gone through this thing many times. Each time a new generation was there which presumed to have a new soul, and declared also the desire to find for this new soul the corresponding style. But this generation had no new soul, but rather only something like an eternal mollusc in it to which no shell fitted, not even the most recently designed one. Around 1900 one could still believe that Naturalism, Impressionism, Decadence and heroic Immoralism taken together were the diverse manifestations of a new generation; around 1910 we already knew ... that the whole affinity of these manifestations only emerged out of the fact that many people were standing around the same void, around the same nothingness; and nowadays there only remains a couple of individual souls out of the whole generational soul who ... successfully blur over the distinction between the Künstlerhaus and the Secession.
>
> Robert Musil (1921)

I

Wagner's Moderne Architektur text was produced after his Inaugural Lecture of October 1894 to mark the occasion of his succession to Hasenauer's chair of architecture at the Akademie der bildende Künste.[1] Indeed, as he informs his readers of the volume's

third edition of 1902, 'the period of its emergence was in the year 1895'.[2] The editor of the English translation, Harry Mallgrave, comes close to describing the volume as the first manifesto of modern architecture.[3] Yet when the first three editions of 1896, 1898 and 1902 are compared, they reveal significant differences in Wagner's usage of variations in the term 'modern'. In the first edition, completed in 1896, Wagner's references to the modern are largely confined to the adjectival form, such as 'modern architecture', 'modern life', or 'modern metropolis'.[4] Neither a reference to a modern movement or to modernity are in evidence in the text. In the second edition, whose emendations were completed by September 1898, the modern movement in the arts and architecture appears for the first time, but in parentheses 'die "Moderne"', 'Sieg der "Modernen"'.[5] The use of parentheses suggests uncertainty, as to the appropriateness of the ambiguous concept of 'die Moderne', both as an artistic movement (modernism) and as object of artistic representation (modernity). By October 1901, when Wagner completed emendations and extensions to his text for its third edition, 'die Moderne' appears without parentheses, as a movement and object that may now stand in its own right.[6] With misplaced confidence, Wagner assumed he could declare of modernity, with reference to its problematic existence in the artistic realm only six years previously, that 'its then so numerous opponents have become silent'.[7]

In contrast, the first edition concludes with the hope that the message of this volume will be successful, namely 'to awaken a fresh, pulsating life, a rich directed unfolding of the art of building, in order that in the not too distant future we will see our ideal of beauty embodied in - the foreshadowed, the hoped for - modern architecture'.[8] The third edition deleted 'the foreshadowed, the hoped for', whereas in 1896 this 'modern architecture' was yet to be realised.[9] Such syntactic variations and semantic ambiguities within such a brief timespan are seismographic indicators of the troubled life of a new

concept, not merely in Wagner's writings, but within the context of social, epistemological, ethical and aesthetic discourse impacting upon architectural debate in Vienna certainly from the 1880\s to the First World War and beyond.

However, this ambiguity surrounding the concepts of the modern [Modern], modernity [Moderne], modernism [Moderne] and modernness [Modernität] is by no means confined to Wagner's writings, nor even to that of his contemporaries.[10] A century after the publication of Wagner's Moderne Architektur, the profusion of contributions to philosophical, sociological, literary and artistic debate on modernity are testimony not merely to the continued - or renewed - relevance of such discussion for contemporary concerns but also to the continuing deeply contested domain of the subject of that discussion. This situation has been compounded by over two decades of debate upon postmodernity and postmodernism, which has also revealed many similar problems, not least in often banal rejections of modernity and modernism, perhaps in order not to compromise claims for the emergence of what Baudelaire characterised as 'the truly new' (which he saw as heralded ironically by 'patent leather shoes').[11]

At all events, all such discussion and debate is likely to continue into the near future, not least because we are approaching our fin de siècle, one that will inaugurate entry into a new millennium - unlike its predecessor in 1900. For almost three decades now, one of the crucial temporal and spatial sites in Anglo-American discourse for the origins of modernity has been fin de siècle Vienna, most notably since the publication of Carl E. Schorske's Fin-de Siècle Vienna in 1980.[12] Numerous studies in the previous decade and in succeeding decades have explored diverse facets of modernity and the modernist movements around the turn of the century in Vienna.[13] Others have explored the fin-de-siècle cultural expansion in other cities within central Europe, such as Budapest, Prague, Cracow, Lvov - all within the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.[14] Similarly, the putative

emergence of modernity has been documented for Berlin, Munich, Stockholm and many other cities.[15] Still others have questioned both the chronological privileging of the modern around 1900 and the location of the 'origin' of modernity and fin-de-siècle culture. As Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter, drawing upon Eugene Weber's earlier work,[16] have pointed out, 'the expression fin-de-siècle was launched upon the world when the play with the same title by two French authors, F. de Jouvenot and H. Micard, was performed first in Paris on 17 April 1888'.[17] Thirty years earlier according to his own account, Charles Baudelaire was compelled to introduce the term 'la modernité' in his essay 'The Painter of Modern Life', published in 1863 but drafted in 1859-60 in Paris.[18] That Paris was the location for the introduction of these two much used terms might suggest, as Allan Janik and Stephen Beller have argued, that 'if any one city merits the term "birthplace of modernity" it is Paris, not Vienna'.[19] Indeed Walter Benjamin's search for the origins of modernity, in his 'prehistory of modernity' that is contained in Das Passagenwerk (the Arcades Project) was the most impressive if incomplete excavation of the site of modernity in the present century.[20] That site was 'Paris - Capital of the Nineteenth Century'.[21] And almost two centuries earlier, as Jauss and others have demonstrated, France was also one of the major sites of a literary and aesthetic conflict between 'the ancients' and 'the moderns'.[22] In the German speaking world, by contrast, the concept 'die Moderne' first made its appearance in 1886 - two years, then, before the concept of fin-de-siècle - in a Berlin literary journal whose author was the young critic Eugen Wolff.[23] The virtual explosion of literature on 'die Moderne' in Vienna takes off from Hermann Bahr's appropriation of the term from 1890 onwards, as Wunberg has extensively documented.[24]

However, a comprehensive exploration of the etymological variations of the modern and modernity would take us too far from our present concerns. And certainly, however appealing chronological affinities might be - the coincidence of the emergence of

the terms fin de siècle and die Moderne in the late 1880's - there is much to be said for Adorno's advice that 'Modernity is a qualitative not a chronological category'.[25] Nonetheless, Otto Wagner's assertion in 1895 that a 'modern architecture' should be one that is appropriate to 'modern life' and the 'modern metropolis' suggests some affinities with earlier conceptions of modernity. It is the relevance of these which will be explored first before attempting to trace the specific debate around modernity in the period around 1890 to 1900 in Vienna, which coincides with the attempts by Otto Wagner, his students and some of his contemporary architects in Vienna to establish a 'modern' architecture.

II

When Baudelaire introduced the concept of 'modernité' in his essay 'The Painter of Modern Life' (written 1859-60, published 1863), he identified it both as a 'quality' of modern life and a new object of artistic activity.[26] One of its cardinal features was its association with 'newness', with 'the truly new', however ugly or repulsive it might be. This newness (nouveauté) reveals itself in the transitory present. Newness is thus presentness. Their location is within metropolitan existence, in 'the landscapes of the great city'. Our experience of newness, presentness and modernity - 'the ephemeral, contingent newness of the present' - manifests itself in the modern metropolis 'in trivial life', 'in the daily metamorphosis of external things',[27] in other words, in that which appears on the surface of everyday life. It is therefore the task of the painter of modern life to capture the fleeting beauty that is present in 'the landscapes of stone' in the metropolis, in 'the outward show of life'. The fleeting and transitory beauty of the city and its inhabitants - the 'immense reservoir of electrical energy' that is contained in the metropolitan crowd or 'the attitude and the gesture of human beings... and their luminous explosion in space' can indeed only be captured by the artist of modern life since 'for most of us.... for whom

nature has no existence save by reference to utility, the fantastic reality of life has become singularly diluted'.[28]

This is the context in which we can understand Baudelaire's concept of modernity as 'the transitory, the fleeting, the fortuitous, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable'.[29] He understood this 'new' dimension of modern existence as both transitory and self renewing - each present and sense of presentness is succeeded by another present, another passing moment, and, at the same time, as incorporating within itself 'all the suggestions of eternity that it contains'.

Although Baudelaire is specifically concerned with the 'painters' of modern life and not the 'architect' of modern life, his exploration of modernity nonetheless contains aspects that are relevant to the latter too. The identification of modernity with the transitory, the fleeting and the fortuitous may be more abstractly translated into a connection with modernity as the discontinuous or disintegrating experience of time as transitory, space as fleeting and causality as replaced by the fortuitous or contingent.[30] Modern metropolitan existence is always in transition, in the process of transformation. Its space is fleeting, both in the sense that the circulation of urban capital requires its continuous destruction (it is Baron Haussmann who declares, with reference to his own efforts in this context that 'I applaud this creative destruction'[31]), and, equally significantly, in that our perspective on that space has itself become increasingly mobile. Baudelaire's location of the flâneur as 'the passionate spectator' of modern life is in the crowd which, as an object of the observer, is itself permanently in motion. For the flâneur as mobile spectator, 'it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, and the infinite'.[32] Setting up home in this context can only be fleeting within the 'landscapes of stone' in the modern metropolis. Baudelaire's reference to the 'explosion in space' that is to be found in the urban crowd does not yet reflect upon the increasing tempo with which the spectator

would soon traverse urban space in modern transport systems. Strolling would give way to the rapid transit of observers or flâneurs/flâneuse themselves.[33]

Yet, for Baudelaire, it was equally important for the modern artist to capture not merely 'the eternal beauty and the amazing harmonic life in the capital cities', its crowds and its spectacles, but also 'to distil the eternal from the transitory', where 'the external part of beauty will be veiled' - in fashion.[34] Its newness and its transitoriness contain 'poetry within history', its very temporal determination, its immediacy in 'the outward show of life' embodies elements of the eternal. Modernity's identification with presentness and the modern in this context is simultaneously an identification with fashion (Mode).[35] Similarly, the aesthetic representation of the experience of modernity in modernisms - and Baudelaire is signalling the emergence of one version of modernism in his essay - claims to be rejecting the eternal and the immutable in past traditions, in the Historicist museum. Yet each modern aesthetic movement, in seeking to assert itself as a movement succeeding tradition, and that which has gone before, often lays claim to its own permanence and immutability. However, not only is its object - modernity - the transitory, the fleeting, the fortuitous; it also lays claim to represent (truly) the present and the fashionable. It wishes to create its own monuments to modernity that will be eternal and immutable but which, simultaneously, must truly represent modernity's transitory, fleeting and fortuitous nature. More generally, what is at issue in the discussion of modernity and modern architecture is the latter's relationship to monumentality given the extensive identification of modernity with fragmentation and transitoriness. In this context, there may well be a tension if not a contradiction between modernity and monumentality. Indeed, in many interpretations of the modern in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this tension and a desire for a modern monumentality surfaces in architectural discourse.[36]

III

Although, as we have seen, the concept of modernity (die Moderne) does not appear in German discourse until 1886 and then becomes rapidly disseminated within a whole range of aesthetic, philosophical, social and architectural discourses in the succeeding decade, there is substantial evidence of earlier discussion of the representation of modern life within architectural discourse. As a student in Schinkel's Bauakademie in Berlin, under Schinkel's student Busse, and in subsequent acquaintance with debates on modern architecture in the 1860's and 1870's, Wagner would have come across some of these earlier confrontations with the modern.[37]

Perhaps the most relevant with respect to the relationship between modern life and its representation in architecture is the debate on the most appropriate style for modern architecture that is signified by Heinrich Hübsch's monograph of 1828 In What Style Should We Build?[38] Contributions to this debate and even essays with this or a similar title continued to be produced up to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. The debate is not merely the architectural version of the debate between antiquity and modernity (initially in French literature in the late seventeenth century, but evident in Baudelaire's conceptualisation of modernity) but also the leitmotif throughout the discussion of Historicism and the search for a 'new' style. Hence, the question as to a 'new' style for a 'new' age in the decades immediately succeeding Hübsch's monograph is not noteworthy - in large part - for its reflections upon modern life and society.[39] Rather, when contributors to these discussions assert, as does Wiegmann that 'We should....strive to attain a living art that faithfully reflects and is nourished by the character of our own time',[40] the sources for this endeavour are sought in history, in the existing 'world of forms' in order that they may be incorporated into modern requirements. This 'world of forms' encompasses the Gothic,

the Germanic, the Hellenic, the Renaissance and so on. Not untypical of the presumed relationship between this world of forms and 'modern life' is the modest role ascribed to invention and originality in present day architecture by Wolff, for instance, when he asserts that

> Invention is restricted to demonstrating that the eternal laws and forms discovered by the ancients can be applied in many new ways that conform to the idea of each particular building, to the material conditions, and therefore also to the particular requirements of our age and our nation. In this, our guide can again be the careful observation and contemplation of the ancient models with their fine sense of what is appropriate. However, we lack the vocation and the ability to create new forms and therefore must forgo the fame of having a national and truly original style.[41]

The adaptation of existing forms to modern life and the putative inability to create new forms are common themes in this discourse, whether it be in defence of the Hellenic, the Gothic, or the Germanic, etc. The focus of discussion is thus directed away from addressing the nature of modern life and its distinctive features.

A significant exception, in the collection edited by Wolfgang Herrmann spanning the years 1828 to 1847, is Hübsch's 1847 essay 'The Differing Views of Architectural Style in Relation to the Present Time'.[42] There, Hübsch, in the context of an exploration of the modern architect's relationship to modern times and the possible production of a new style, outlines an image of modern life that has some affinity with Baudelaire's later delineation but one that is judged from an opposing perspective. Framed in the form of refutations of received views, Hübsch argues against the plethora of styles in modern buildings where 'the Gothic style is chosen today for a church, the Greek style tomorrow for a theatre, the Byzantine style for a palace, or possible the other way around' thus producing 'an architectural carnival'. Secondly, he argues against the 'many Germanomaniacs [who] demand an exclusively German style'. Thirdly, he argues against

contemporary untrained judgement 'in our time of glorified subjectivism'. Fourthly, Hübsch counters the view that a new style would bring forth an immediate new appreciation of beauty since this confuses style with 'the poetic conception and organic presentation of the actual object'. But it is the final refutation by Hübsch that directly addresses features of the modern. Here he commences with the problem that

> many people understand the maxim (in itself certainly true) that "modern art must be a clear expression of the present" to mean that a contemporary architectural style...must reflect the present as it is today with all of its whimsical qualities and must for that reason be completely new. Above all, they want our time to be seen as an absolute new and extraordinary birth, radically different from all previous times.[43]

This present, modern period, however, possesses for Hübsch, 'an unprecedented illness' - 'the speed with which the so called modern part of mankind again and again changes its appearance, so that in this respect it no longer has a "being" (however brief) but - in Hegelian terms - only a "becoming"'.[44] For Hübsch its most obvious manifestation is fashion with its rapid transformations that are so fast that 'there is never sufficient time to accustom the eye to the subtle detail of a form'. This preoccupation with fashion is driven along by 'the massive and autocratic power of industry'.[45]

There is, however, at least one area in which art cannot 'depict the physiognomy of the modern faction of mankind' and 'this blurred and fast-changing face of the present' - monumental art and monumental architecture. This monumental architecture since the early Christian era has been inspired by Christian morality at least. Hence 'the monumental church' has not yet been replaced by its ill informed modern counterpart 'the sleek industrial hall built of cast iron [that] will become the architectural prototype - painted in shiny, fashionable colours and appointed with the psuedo monumental, dazzling shine of mirrors and gold-fringed velvet curtains'.[46] Such a building would be a manifestation of 'the modern mania for change', of the 'scarcely natural world of fashion, this craving for

change and constant flux'. Above all, Hübsch seeks the support of 'an intellectual aristocracy', an anti-materialist elite opposing those who 'preach with specious logic that living art must above all represent life in its latest form, meaning modern man. Unmodern man they consider to be already antiquated'.[47]

This early delineation of modernity from the standpoint of a religious, aristocratic, anti-modernity, already prefigures succeeding critiques of modernity that focus upon the present and the fashionable, the domination of material and industrial interests, the ever changing physiognomy of the present and the inadequacy of attempt to represent it monumentally. At the same time, the recognition of modernity's identity with emergence and 'becoming' (already identified in Hegel's philosophy of the modern, as Habermas has demonstrated[48]) and its manifestation in fashion are also continuous themes in subsequent positive delineations of modernity.

IV

It is, however, in the decade of the 1880s that the discussion of the relationship between modern life and society and its architecture becomes evident in the Vienna milieu This, in itself, is significant since the customary chronology of discourse on early modernity is most often dated from 1890 until around 1910. Yet the discourse and debates of the 1890's must themselves have been grounded in earlier reflections and debates upon the modern. What is new in the 1890's, in part as the result of social and institutional configurations (including the emergence of specific schools propagating a modern movement), is the emergence of modern movements in architecture and other arts that take on the characteristics of avant-garde movements. However, the identification of Viennese modernity with the fin-de-siecle has focussed attention almost exclusively upon the period around 1900 as if this chronological temporalisation itself constituted a watershed or a

threshold.[49] More generally, of course, the subsequent historiography of what is termed the 'modern movement' or 'modernism' did not wish to have its origins traced back to the nineteenth century upon which it so ostentatiously turned its back. Modernism's break with the past (as with all avant-garde claims) must be total.

The overview which follows, drawing upon architectural criticism in monographs and journals - especially the Allgemeine Bauzeitung, Schriften des Österreichischen Ingenieur und Architekten Vereins, Wiener Bauzeitung, Deutsche Bauzeitung, Der Architekt (from 1895), Die Zeit - and newspapers such as Neue Freie Presse and the Neues Wiener Tagblatt, seeks to demonstrate that the architectural discourse on the modern was already under way in the neglected decade of the 1880s, prior to the better known discussion of modernity in the succeeding decade.[50] With the exception of the Deutsche Bauzeitung, published in Berlin but containing extensive coverage of Viennese developments, all the contributions to the discourse on the modern to be examined were published in Vienna.

Although it can be claimed that a crisis in the search for a modern style is evident in the 1880's and that there are some significant reflections upon the nature of modernity by architects and critics in Vienna, it must be emphasized that by and large neither is the subject of a continuous discourse or debate. The often hesitant and often fragmentary reflections indicate that there is no systematic movement or discourse on modernity present. Thematically, the discussion of the possibility of a modern style - and the diverse alternative answers - is both a continuation of earlier uncertainties within Historicism and, on occasion, and especially in the reflections of the critic Joseph Bayer, anticipates the more sustained debate on the nature of the modern in architecture in the succeeding decade. In order to provide an indication of the tentative nature of this development, the

relevant contributions to and explorations of aspects of the modern are outlined chronologically.

In the decade of the 1880's in journals and in the press in Vienna, the architectural discourse which addresses issues associated with modern life and society remains in good part still preoccupied with the issue of style, echoing both aspects of the debate outlined above, as well as the influence of Gottfried Semper's On Style (1860).[51] Thus, in 1880 the lecturer in aesthetics at the Technische Hochschule in Vienna, Joseph Bayer, published an article titled 'How Should We Build?' which commences with the statement that 'How often it is said and repeated that we modern human beings have no building style of our own, merely all manner of learnt understanding of style: hence we have the fateful privilege of being able to choose the style'.[52] In contrast to previous ages with their own powerfully generated artistic traditions and styles, 'in the present period we can neither lay claim to nor expect such unified domination of a single style'.[53] Not only have contemporary architects been schooled in the historical variety of styles but architecture itself 'earlier the most objective of the arts, so objective and basic as only religion can still be - has in fact become the most subjective of the arts'.[54] Of the language of previous architectural forms, it is the Renaissance 'with which our modern building needs seem technically and artistically to best accord', not least because it contains within itself, both temporally and geographically, diverse possibilities.

From an ostensibly more scientific standpoint, Rudolf Redtenbacher in 'The architecture of the past and its relation to that of the present' (1881)[55] argues for a comparative study of earlier architectural forms from our present period which is still part of the continuation of the Renaissance. Whilst rejecting any notion of a return to the Middle Ages, Redtenbacher argues that

> 'we must learn from history, we must, despite that fact that our standpoint is a given one, proceed eclectically to exploit still

> utilizable ideas and forms of the past. Our period presents us tasks that no previous architecture knew, it gives us conditions for their solution that were hitherto absent, but the past supplies us with the means for their real fulfilment'. [56]

The notion of modernity and its new presentness totally distinct from the past is still absent from both Bayer's and Redtenbacher's positions.

In Hans Auer's 'The development of space in architecture' (1883),[57] there is a recognition of the present in crisis at the end of his review of the treatment of space from ancient Egypt to the present day. His characterisation of the present, however, opens up the possibility for the development of a new style:

> We apparently live in a chaos of concepts of art, in an entanglement of the most diverse perspectives an art such as has probably never existed hitherto. This state of affairs characterizes our times as a transitional stage. The modes of building handed down to us have fulfilled their tasks; with their help alone the art of space (Raumeskunst) cannot go along any new path. Yet we already live today in a phase in which a new style is forming under the irresistible influence of a material that with an iron fist shakes all the traditions of the past, namely iron.[58]

As an instance of the utilization of this material and indeed, though Auer does not mention this, as a symbol-together with the department store - of modernisation, one building type is cited namely, 'the railway stations, the modern entrance gateway to cities extend their breadth and length from year to year and have already achieved a total span of over 60 metres.' However, Auer's enthusiasm for this 'future technology' is tempered by insistence that 'the major advantages of the new material be utilized only in association with the old inherited modes of building', as 'a counter balance against the dangerous progress of technology'.[59]

Only two years later, Auer addresses a more traditional issue, 'Modern questions of style' (1885).[60] Auer recognizes that modern building activity is governed by diverse demands, material and technical reconditions and countless new public structures - 'for

commerce and traffic, municipal and state administration, educational purposes, museums, for mental and bodily health, etc'.[61] In addition, there are increased demands for 'morality and comfort', as well as the most diverse technical means for overcoming these problems. Under these circumstances, and faced with these new problems 'the unrestrained and most comprehensive domination possible of the whole architectural world of forms is necessary'.[62] The new problems confronted by modern architecture have generated 'a new, universally practised style' that we may call provisionally 'the modern Renaissance'. This modern style incorporates previous forms and the architect can choose a style according to its applicability. Modern architects can incorporate 'the expression of individuality'.

However, the combination of this recourse to earlier styles with confrontation with new problems means that the architect is 'totally uncreative with respect to their solution'.[63] Auer sees in Vienna and elsewhere widespread recourse to the Baroque style which, confronted by increasing application of iron and glass, seems inadequate to modern needs. This inadequacy is also apparent in the increasing modern demand for 'the freestanding family house'.[64] In this respect, too, the Renaissance style and its variants offer more possibilities for modern architecture.

Whether the widespread use of glass and iron is constitutive of modern architecture is also the theme of Bayer's 'Glass and iron' (1886)[65] essay which highlights the new 'constructive nakedness' of 'beetle-like' glass palaces in garden and exhibition structures. Occasionally, the combination of glass and iron is successful as in the Galleria Vittorio Emmanuele in Milan, even though Bayer fails to point out that this is a building type already almost a century old. The monumental Galleria in Milan and similar arcades in Berlin and elsewhere (Bayer notes that there is no modern instance in Vienna) serve a modern and ancient function:

> In the modern world the arcade serves the same function, without the gladiators contest, as the ampitheatre did for the

> Romans. There the life of sociability is set in motion and movement in order to meander in groups, to see one another and to be seen by others; the ancient public always wanted to get something to see, presentday society is itself a theatre, a changing decoration populated by people and decor. And hence it is a very felicitous notion to enclose and concentrate this stream of people, by means of rich sensory artistic means, that would otherwise flow without direction through the different streets. [66]

A similar effect is achieved also with glass and iron aided by 'electric light and the glamour of the shop window'. What Bayer does not point to in this context is that the grander versions of the department store are not to be found on Vienna's major new thoroughfare, the Ringstrasse, but either within the old city or along some of the major streets outside the Ring such as the Mariahilfe Strasse.

Bayer's identification of modern building materials with modern building types is continued in greater detail in his article 'Modern Building Types' (1886).[67] Bayer contrasts earlier historical periods with their domination by a single style with the contemporary situation in which 'the multi-domination of styles is a quite remarkable characteristic of our times; but these laboriously studied styles are merely applied forms, and not formative forces'.[68] This is a disturbing feature of modern architecture for Bayer since 'for all times the built organism has been a symbolic replication of the social organism; it should and must be the case also in our times'.[69] However, 'the forces effective in structuring buildings in modern society' are not those of earlier epochs that were so often given form by a strong 'personal impulse'. Instead, 'nowadays the state and society build, and it is capital, collected through associations, that builds. Something impersonal permeates the whole building movement of our epoch'. This is what creates 'a modern style'.

For Bayer, the architects' task is to create architectural forms that make them 'citizens of those times that are to come rather than honorary style citizens of such times as have long past'.[70] Modern architecture must adapt to the materialist age. Indeed, 'its duty

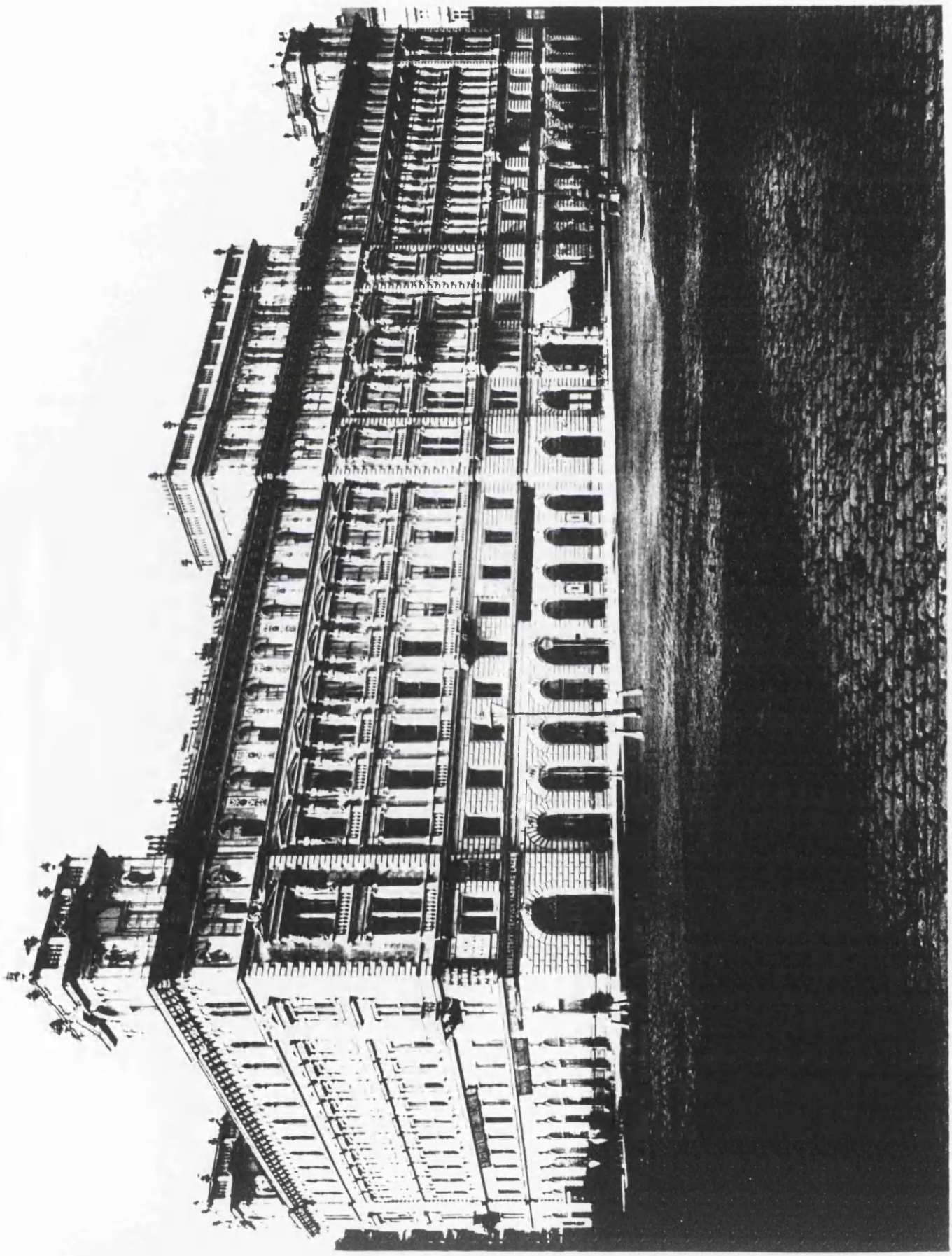
is to represent the age's character just as literature has done'.[71] In this respect, the architecture of the present is social, just as in earlier epochs it was monarchist, aristocratic, religious', and this is the reason why 'church buildings and palaces - now have a merely subordinate significance'.[72] The need for religious buildings in modern times does arise from time to time, 'but not the religious enthusiasm' which accompanied it in earlier periods.

Similarly, the construction of palaces has lost its significance with respect to the modern epoch. As an instance of this Bayer cites the fate in Vienna of 'the palace of the Duke of Württemberg on the Kärntner Ringstrasse [which] has been transformed with appropriate modifications into a huge hotel complex (Hotel Imperial)'. Its transformation took place without major structural changes since its decorative ornamentation was the most significant agent of its distinction rather than its architectural structure. Today it is no longer the aristocrat but 'Haute-finance' which builds palaces. Thus 'a palace in which something to rent exists, that completely opens up its ground floor to shops and commercial enterprises is no longer a genuine palace, regardless of how elegant the luxurious forms may be which it has been dressed up'.[73]

If churches and palaces are no longer the building types of the present what then are the dominant building structures of modernity? Bayer's answer is unequivocal (and totally in agreement with Wagner's later claims):

> What is thoroughly characteristic...of modern social life and of the essential architecture of the present day is the modern restructuring, enlargement and stylisation of the interest-bearing housing blocks [Zinshäuser-Anlagen]. And yet, despite their often excessive embelishment, their impact more often lies in the general effect on the street than that their individual significance comes to the fore.[74]

In contrast to those architects who, through ornamentation, produce a 'picturesque accentuation of street corners', Bayer praises Hansen's Heinrichshof on the Ringstrasse



opposite the Opera which transforms 'the constellation of the modern interest building group blocks into a major rhythm of masses, into an imposing, harmonious unity', a 'genuine metropolitan apartment system'.(I.13)

Such exceptions are conceived despite the extensive building speculation: 'The extension of the city...above all the building conglomerates have almost eradicated the normal house from the world and put in its place the so-called "interest-palaces"'. The rapid expansion of speculative building in the city centre has led to a situation in which architectural forms 'have sunk down into mere flourishes of an empty building phraseology'.[75] In the streets themselves, it is 'the real modern power of horizontalism' which predominates, in contrast to the earlier force of towers:

> Not merely in art, but also in politics, in social life, in practical endeavours, in scientific research - everywhere we desire increasingly a viewpoint rather than an elevated viewpoint: for a perspective, a point de vue. Our direction of life equally is dominated by the horizontal law...it fixes a goal in the direction of a straight line... The whole modern tendency leads it neccessarily towards the effect of the prospect, in the forcefully accentuated rhythm of masses.[76]

At the same time, there is a desire for monumental structures. Those most typical of modern period are 'structures grouped together' [Gruppierings-Bauten], that express 'a certain architectonic rationalism'.

Bayer concludes his reflections on modern building types with the question as to whether, or rather 'how can one...come immediately to a conclusion with one's reasoning, if one stands as an observer in the middle of an almost labyrinthene intricate movement? No - one does not stand on a middle place, one is oneself carried along in this motion and can do nothing else'.[77] Here and elsewhere in his reflection, Bayer approaches the experience of modernity with its emphasis upon movement, not from the outside but with the observers themselves carried along with this movement.

More typical of architectural discourse in the late 1880's than Bayer's wide ranging reflections upon modern building types is the continuation of disputes on contemporary style. Bayer himself again contributes to this discussion in 'Crises of Style in our Times' (1886),[78] in which he once more challenges architectural claims to 'the putative "new style" of the present times' that is ascribed to 'the medley of stylistic forms'.[79] Before citing with approval Semper's maxim that 'Art knows only one master: necessity' - the maxim which Wagner adopts in the succeeding decade - Bayer draws attention to the contradiction between the diversity of styles and modern needs:

> It is certainly the case that architecture which, amongst the other arts has the least right to succumb to dream images [Traumbildern], has dreamed the most in the last decade. Literature was awake, as was music too; painting rubbed its eyes, made poses in front of the mirror and made up its cheeks - only the architectonic muse, actually more a symbol than muse, lost to the world wove away in the twilight, and did so with the highest level of protection. Architecture, above all others the art of necessity, preferred to build .... for patrons to feast their eyes upon, primarily that which no one needed and constructed stylistically these structures of recollection [Reminiszensbauten] in accordance with the patterns of art history.[80]

This construction of structures of recollection, souvenirs of that which never actually existed, often built with local or national patronage had earlier been castigated by Semper in his Zurich lecture of 1869[81] - cited by Bayer - 'On Architectural Styles', with reference to Munich's Maximilian style promoted by the king of Bavaria, and 'founded on the following profound idea: our culture is a mixture made up of elements from all earlier cultures; consequently, our modern architectural style should be a mixture of every conceivable style of architecture from everytime and nation. The entire history of culture should thus be mirrored in it!'.[82] But not merely could the desire for a plurality of styles be a manifestation of quite specific contemporary forms of patronage, but the same could also be true of enthusiasm for specific styles. Bayer suggests that what was built in the neo-

Gothic style 'largely had a certain symbolic reference to specific tendencies in conviction'[83] - in Austria during the period of the Papal Concordat. But 'we unrestrained modern persons' recognized the 'false tone' in such structures.

The diversity of styles is explained by Bayer, in part, as a reaction to the uniformity of modern social forms. Indeed,

> it is nonetheless quite astonishing that our epoch, which in its whole style of life - in the social forms and customs, in the manner of clothing and of representation - is so plain and identical to the point of monotony, should still demand of the architectonic style costume of its buildings today such colourful diversity.[84]

Yet despite the increasing recognition of necessity in architecture in recent times, 'a complete stylistic unity in the formal appearance of modern buildings, at least for the time being is not to be expected', not least because this unity was lacking in earlier periods such as the Renaissance which 'applied Ancient and Roman details to cloth its own totally independent building compositions that were modern for their times'.[85] Similarly, in our most recent modern period, new problems of building construction have brought about a transformation of the older stylistic forms through their application to a new context.

Drawing upon the distinction between the stylistic shell and its constructional kernel, Bayer concludes with the assertion that 'the core formation of a modern style is already present', but that its features are not to be found in the merely external observation of modern buildings with their diverse historically varied stylistic details. Rather, the new modern element is to be found 'in the total constellation of the building composition, in the transposition from the plans in the compositional tasks as such that are unique to our age'[86]. It is this form of argument which architectural historians such as Werner Oechslin have applied specifically to understanding Otto Wagner's position on modern architecture

as an evolutionary stage in the separation of construction and cladding prior to the ostensibly revolutionary separation of the two.[87]

Indicative of discussions of the modern in architecture in the 1880's in Vienna which oscillate between a preoccupation with historical styles and a critique of modern building types are the reflections of Ludwig Trzeschtik (himself a Viennese architect) in 'Modern Architecture: Critical Ramblings' (1889).[88] Trzeschtik's reflections commence with the failings of modern architectural study, the present emphasis upon technical training to producing a situation in which students 'too readily forget that one is also a building artist, and not merely building engineer or building technologist!'.[89] However, the major part of Trzeschtik's reflections consist of the almost obligatory overview of building styles from antiquity to the present day. Yet Trzeschtik does raise the relationship between modern society and modern architecture when he cites Friedrich von Neumann's question as to whether architecture can give a higher expression to the tasks of modern society. Von Neumann maintains that 'these tasks are hardly capable of being given a higher symbolic expression, since society is sick... Therefore, according to the present social diagnosis, charlatanism would be the most appropriate symbolic expression in architecture for modern society. This we cannot and should not permit, therefore in the interests of art we must - lie!' Trzeschtik is further, not optimistic that a new stylistic building period is about to commence - 'perhaps in 50 to 100 years time!'[90]

Of note in Trzeschtik's analysis is his critique of architectural training, the expressive relationship between architecture and society and the need to 'lie' - all themes of Wagner's Moderne Architektur in 1896. More significantly, however, Wagners's assessment of these factors is the reverse of that of Trzeschtik. Some of them were in fact addressed by Wagner in the same year as Trzeschtik's article appeared.

In 1889 Wagner published the first of what were to be three volumes of projects, sketches and completed works that appeared during his lifetime.[91] Although he had previously accompanied many of his projects with descriptions and analysis, this was the first known independent publication by Wagner (published by himself in the first edition in October 1889, by Schroll in the second edition of 1891). His brief introduction constitutes his first general programmatic statement on modern architecture, though, like other contributions to such discussion, not referring to modernity as such.

Indeed, as Haiko has indicated,[92] in this 1889 volume 'theory and practice are separated by a wide gulf', not merely because in Wagner's earlier works, 'all the buildings of his early years owe their style to Historicist principles of design' (although entirely devoted to an Italian Renaissance style, sometimes referred to as the 'Vienna Style'), even though the introduction to his projects in 1889 is deeply hostile to Historicism. Rather, in addition, none of Wagner's actual projects and sketches 'would seem to anticipate Wagner's vision of Modernism as the epoch of the Nutzstil'[93], the style for use in the modern metropolis and appropriate to modern life which appears in his modern architecture. In his 1889 introduction to 'several works from my last ten years of activity', Wagner castigates Historicist

> experiments with various styles...in the last twenty years which, more or less caricatured, have consumed the building styles of millenia with the haste of our way of life, have passed me by leaving little trace.[94]

Instead, Wagner declares that in this period he 'calmly followed the path already chosen', namely a commitment to 'a certain free Renaissance' style appropriate to the Viennese 'genius loci', to 'all our circumstances and modern accomplishments in the use of materials and construction', on the historical grounds that building style 'has always been the expression of the disposition and the ability of the peoples of all ages'.[95]

The lack of commitment to a single exclusive architectural style which resulted in successive one-sided Historicist claims does not rule out, for Wagner, the development of a new, modern style. On the contrary,

> 'further development and transformation, along with the utilization of all our motifs and materials, must force us to a new style: and it is even more certain that this future style will be the Nutz-Stil toward which our course is now set'.[96]

This new style for use will not merely be appropriate to 'the mighty practical endeavours of our times and the ever present fight for survival' but if in addition we grant this Nutz-Stil 'the search for inner truth as its ideal, it will not be lacking in aesthetic justification either'.[97]

This 'aesthetic justification' is grounded in Realism, a Realism already introduced in France and one to which Wagner fully subscribes. An architecture for use, a realist architecture, will create new problems and tasks for the modern architect, who 'in his double function as artist and building technician, will have to put the latter function far into the forefront to be able to meet all the new requirements'.[98] Again castigating Historicism, this time in art, Wagner contends that 'modern plein air genre pictures seem more natural to us than any historical paintings with their gigantic formats and their archaeological artistry. For works of art must always be the mirror image of their times'.[99] Here Wagner regards art and architecture's reflection of the times and its society as unproblematical and assumes that Historicism itself is not a mirror image of the times. Later, Wagner was to see Historicism's stylistic variety as an architectural 'lie'.

Here, however, he pleads for an appropriate Realism in architecture. Although 'the Eiffel Tower, the Kursaal in Ostend [exhibit] too much Realism, the bulk of our present-day architecture shows too little'. The latter prevails especially in Vienna where architects

> lend an entirely foreign character to the ordinary dwelling and tenement building instead of bowing to the strict requirements of utility. Among the important factors which still influence our

> style of building and result in the crassest kind of realism are primarily the brief time span available for construction and the nearly complete lack of architectural understanding on the part of the public.[100]

These are all themes to which Wagner returns more fully in his Moderne Architektur. Although not certain of the precise features of this Zukunftstil, the Nutz-Stil, and although the concept of a style for use or utility style, especially with reference to the tenement building (the Miethaus or, more revealingly, the Zinshaus), hides the complex relationship between architecture (for use) and building as urban capital (for capital circulation), Wagner is one of the few in this period who neither remains committed to the Historicist programme (and advocate one particular historical style or a combination of them) nor denies the possibility of a new style in the future.

However, Wagner's brief foreword to his sketches and projects does not constitute part of the architectural discourse in the major journals and, for half a decade, much of this discourse continues to debate the appropriate style for the modern period largely within the preestablished Historicist paradigm. In other words, the debate continues much within the parameters already set in the 1880s and earlier.

Thus, Albert Hofmanns's essay 'In Which Style Should We Build' (1890)[101], continues to review previous styles in a context in which he appears enamoured with Langbehn's reactionary call for a German style appropriate to modern culture. However, his reflections finally take a somewhat different direction when he argues that

> 'the strivings to do justice to the predominant cultural currents in style, in other words to work in the so-called "modern" style, are experienced by the majority of artists with recourse to the past as an often superior rejection. And yet this is not justified. Even the style which we seek to gain today for our architecture, the style of a previous great period, also experienced with the same lack of justification a similar rejection and lead nonetheless to a glorious period of art'.[102]

However, what Hofmann does highlight in this search for a 'modern' style is the problematical relationship between the modern and fashion. With approval Hofmann cites Cornelius Gurlitt's view that,

> 'Fashion, like style, advances irresistibly forward. It always changes not merely the form of things, but also our eyes...To each person beauty appears differently from another....All the attempts to create a unity in the concept of beauty will be doomed to failure for beauty lies not in nature or in things, but invested by each of us into them'.[103]

Hofmann, however, does not reflect upon the implication of fashions transformation in our mode of perception of things, which would both accentuate and render problematic modernity's relationship to fashion.

Similarly, Gurlitt himself in the previous year in his essay 'Old Forms - New Style!' (1889),[104] which is written in the form of a parody of the plurality of Historicist styles, concludes with the architect's view that although he is producing earlier styles for the modern period, these are, nonetheless, the styles of the present-day architect. Indeed, the architect declares with respect to these previous styles:

> "I do not even copy them, but rather I extend them. What is history to me and especially ancient art history? My contemporaries and I, in fact make the new art history, each in his particular past. But this should always be worthy! The forms, the whole building should tell anecdotes or even world history!"
> "Look around you", he continued "and you will find that everything that has been newly constructed is also built in the new style. Here my friend A prefers the forms of the Italian Renaissance - good, why not! There B, absorbed totally in the midst of German Renaissance - although it has been extended too broadly; I have attempted something with the Baroque style"[105].

This preoccupation with attempts to extract a modern style out of the Historicist problematic is continued in Fritsch's 'Observations on Style' (1890).[106] There, addressing the issue of the present situation within the 'so-called "question of style"' and future developments, Fritsch - like many contributors to this issue in the previous decade -

reviews the adaptation of historical styles in the nineteenth century (Greek Renaissance, Italian Renaissance, Neo Gothic schools), often the contradictions within these stylistic developments between idealism and realism, regulation and individualism, and the application of new building materials (especially iron). Fritsch detects in the past two decades the emergence of new styles - "iron style", Baroque, German Renaissance, Empire, Romanesque but concludes that the only way in which a genuinely new style can emerge is 'not through the arbitrary mixing ... of styles ... but rather through the condensation [Verschmelzung] and restructuring of older styles and motifs'. [107]

Although the concept of modernity and modernism, both subsumed under 'die Moderne', was the subject of increasing debate from 1890 onwards in Vienna literary circles around Hermann Bahr and others, the concept did not emerge so early within contemporary architectural discourse. The leading Viennese architecture journal the Allgemeine Bauzeitung, was still publishing articles in the first half of the decade on the problem of style that had strong affinities with the structure of argument of similar reflections in the previous decade.

Thus, the architect Heinrich Schatteburg's 'An Outline of the Cultural-Historical Development of Types of Style' (1894) [108] once more outlined the major building styles from the Greek to the Renaissance before considering much more briefly 'the modern art of building'. Although, as Mitchell Schwarzer has demonstrated, [109] Schatteburg recognised in earlier articles the significance of machine production and the impact of industrialisation upon modern society, he was unable to outline except in the most general terms the parameters within which a modern style might develop. Schatteburg does acknowledge that modern architecture is conditioned by socio-political factors, to the extent that there will be no specific new direction 'as long as no complete peace appears in political life, as long as the social questions are not more specifically clarified'.[110] Hence, with no new style

emerging, 'we must still continue to characterize our standpoint in architecture in a certain sense, despite its advances, as that of the Renaissance'. At the same time, however, Schatteburg recognizes that the modern architect faces completely new tasks since,

> Our whole state of life is forcibly different compared with earlier times. The conditions which confront the contemporary period were unknown in the past. The rapid tempo of our times, fast living in every conceivable respect possible, is full of confused mutually contradictory aspects, full of unclear claims. All the sciences that are related in some way to architecture are continuously in a state of transformation, renewal and extension'.[111]

This process of unclear transformation also applies to building materials which 'bring about different modes of building, different forms of building, but they too are still in need of clarification'.

What does emerge in the early 1890s, then, is a recognition of significant social and economic changes to which Schatteburg and others allude but which are not translated in any clear manner into forces that are creating the conditions for a new, modern architecture that is conceived of in a new manner. Thus, an anonymous article on 'The Building Style of Our Time' (1890) [112]argues that the modern building style is to be found in modes of construction (such as the combination of iron and stone) rather than merely in ornamentation. More generally, the most significant transformation has been the predominance of profane over religious architecture. For this reason,

> Whoever wishes to become acquainted with the architecture of our period must stand in front of the department store, the bourgeois tenement, the town halls, and the parliament and other state buildings in which iron constructions with their powerful influence upon the total structuring of space come into their own...Thus a major department store in the main streets of Berlin with its imposing display window that breaks through the facade in order that broad streams of light may penetrate into the interior, already indicates the characteristic traits of our buildings. In them there is reflected again that which sets the times in motion - commerce and change, the public nature of life. Belief, sustained by the clergy, is no longer the predominant

> element, but rather it is the practical viewpoints of view sustained by the bourgeoisie.[113]

Here, albeit in a German journal, attention is given more specifically to modern features of metropolitan architecture - predominance of profane building, new modes of construction, (rather than merely ornament), dynamic commercial activity and an expansion in the public sphere. [114]

However, a sustained discussion of the modern and modernity is not yet in evidence either in leading Vienna journals such as the Allgemeine Bauzeitung nor in debates within the Association of Austrian Engineers and Architects, the official body representing architects. Indeed, in the latter, it is only at the end of the decade, as we shall see, that modernity becomes a major topic of debate. However, as the following chapter will seek to demonstrate, the implications of modernity for architecture come to the fore more evidently in the discussion, debates and plans for new metropolitan development and a 'New Vienna'.

V

This absence of sustained discussion of modernity in the architecture journals of Vienna (down to 1895) contrasts with the extensive debate in literary and artistic circles in Vienna since 1890. As Gotthart Wunberg has demonstrated, the concept of 'die Moderne' in Viennese literary circles coincides with the emergence of a variously nuanced new literary avant-garde that termed itself 'Jung Wien' (Young Vienna) or 'Jung Österreich' (Young Austria). [115] Thereby, the literary and artistic movements participating in the creation and support of modernity and modernism are also associated ostensibly with a

'new' generation, closely associated with new literary journals (such as Moderne Dichtung/Moderne Rundschau).

Further, a crucial precondition for the development of the Jung Wien movement was a relatively homogenious habitus in Vienna which Wunberg sees as crucial for the cohesion of the new movement's members, namely that

> 'they lived almost without exception in Vienna, almost without exception in at least reasonably good circumstances, if not.....in the best circumstances. They could communicate effortlessly and rapidly with one another through a well functioning city postal service, through messengers or pneumatic post; and, if it was necessary, by means of telegraph. They met - not regularly, but often - at the opera, in the theatre, at dinner engagements, on common bicycle tours or...in the café. [116]

Above all, the group around Hermann Bahr met regularly in Cafe Griensteidl, until its closure in 1896 and whose impending demolition Karl Kraus critically observed in his essay 'The demolished literature' (1897). [117] The opening passage of this satirical piece also makes reference to the extensive rebuilding in Vienna and obliquely to the 'new Vienna': 'Vienna is now being demolished into a metropolis. Together with the old houses the last pillars of our memories are falling, and soon an irreverent spade will have also levelled the venerable Café Griendsteidl to the ground....Our literature is bracing itself for a period of homelessness'[118]. The literary avant-garde around Bahr did of course survive the demolition and other wings of the modern movement met in other cafés and settings.

Bahr - who later reviewed Wagner's Moderne Architektur in a highly positive manner - had already developed a concept of 'die Moderne' by 1890, one which, as Wunberg points out, had little in common with the earlier Berlin concept of modernity introduced in 1886 by Eugen Wolff and later elaborated in large part as a contrast to antiquity ('Our highest artistic ideal is no longer antiquity but rather modernity') and, allegorically, as a female 'with flowing hair' as 'our new image of the gods: modernity!' [119]

Despite Wunberg's argument distancing the Berlin and Viennese concepts, Bahr also in his diaries at least, identified modernity as female. Later it would be a short step to extend the concept of modernity (and its feminine form 'die Moderne') to association with the fashionable and fashion (die Mode) itself. [120]

However, Bahr's essay 'Die Moderne' appearing on 1st January 1890, called for a new art, a new religion, a plea for the 'beliefs of the modern', for a new future after naturalism had laid reality bare. As Wunberg maintains, with reference to this Viennese call for modernity,

> The decisive statement in which Bahr's reflections finally terminates, "we have no other law than the truth, as each experiences it", characterizes particularly clearly the close relationship between naturalism and fin-de-siecle, between naturalism and decadence, that which Bahr conceived under naturalism and impressionism, in short, what he conceived in contrast to naturalism under "modernity". What is naturalistic in this is the "law of truth", which for the naturalists was identical with reality; that which was inaugurated by Emile Zola and formulated dialectically by Ibsen as truth and lie (or the lie of life). [121]

It should be noted in this context not merely that the association of realism with truth presupposes individual experience ('the truth, as each experiences it') but also that the latter itself is anchored in a problematic subjectivity, what Moritz Czáky has termed 'the subjectivity of the decentralised self' [122] (drawing upon Ernst Mach's philosophy and its reception by Bahr - 'the self is irredeemable' - and others). However, this problematic subjectivity is itself not a distinctive feature solely of the Viennese discourse on modernity. It can be found in different forms in the 1890's decade in France (as in Emile Durkheim's preoccupation with 'excessive individualism' in modern society) and in Germany (as in Georg Simmel's association of modernity with subjectivism). [123]

Indeed, within the extensive literary discourse itself on modernity in Vienna in the early 1890's there is evidence of its contradictory nature. In 1891 Friedrich Fels, in a

lecture on modernity emphasizes that 'it is indeed one of the most decisive characteristics of modernity that it is not a one-side single direction, that in it the most diverse and contradictory viewpoints and tendencies find their place'. [124] The breadth and intensity of the literary discourse on modernity even in the early years of its inception is testimony to this diversity and in its modes of expression to the plurality of styles.

As an indicator of a similar discourse on modernity in the art world we can take, very briefly, the response to the Munich Secessionists [125]in Vienna as exemplified in a review by one of the most astute commentator on the artistic world of the Vienna Secession, Ludwig Hevesi. [126] In December 1894, reviewing the exhibition of the Munich Secessionists and others, Hevesi asks what the diverse modern tendencies in painting have in common. His answer is that,

> Taking everything into account, it was their ambition to be modern. This short word, which has such a long meaning, ultimately signifies nothing other than the urge to bring art once more into direct contact with life, not to graft art onto life in a schooled manner but rather to allow art to emerge out of life on the basis of experience. Thus, in other words, modern means nothing other than a return to nature...Modern is thus, viewed practically, appropriate to the times (zeitgemäss), contemporary (aktuell). The times became conscious of their nerves. The aging century felt itself to be close to its demise and thus began to affect piety. Hypnotism, spiritualism, Wagnerism, Ibsenism, salon mysticism of every kind mixed with progressive knowledge of nature. Psycho physics became a modern word. And all these forces play a part in painting, just as in the literature of the century just ending. Today painting, just like the novel, the play and music, wishes to be of the moment (Aktuell). [127]

Hevesi's characterisation of this striving to be modern, to capture the immediate present, emphasizes the momentary in a world in permanent motion. For 'these moderns strive to capture the impression of the momentary...The moment, for our senses, is kind of mathematical point. It is not, but it was and will be. It has passed by in order to come'. [128] This rapid sense of immediacy - 'all this is movement' - is associated for Hevesi with

tension and nervousness, for 'present day painting, landscape painting too, is nervous and the painter is a nervous human being'.

But in all this striving for the modern it is painting, drama, music and literature that are mentioned. The discourses around their development, and this is especially true of literature, constitute an extensive, in part generational intention to create a modern movement or movements, often a consciously directed avant-garde movement. In contrast, the survey of architectural discourse into the early 1890's in Vienna does not yet display evidence of this intention.

VI

If we return to the architectural discourse in the journals and press of the mid 1890's, then we can observe a number of significant new developments. First, that the appointment of Otto Wagner to succeed Hasenauer in the Academy of Fine Arts in 1894 and his inaugural lecture in October 1894 are viewed as a decisive shift in orientation to architectural study. Second, that the first article specifically on the modern is published in 1895 by one of Wagner's first students. Third, that from 1895 onwards Wagner and his students have access to a new Viennese architectural journal, Der Architekt, which for many years serves as the vehicle for propagating Wagner's work and that of its students, as well as subsequently the work of other significant architectural schools (such as that of Friedrich Ohmann, from 1904 also at the Academy of Fine Arts). By the end of the century, not least with the establishment of a Vienna Secession movement and the reform of applied arts education, a whole range of journals came into existence (such as Ver Sacrum in January 1898, Das Interieur in 1900). In the press, the highly positive reflections on Wagner's modern architecture and, subsequently upon the whole secessionist

movement by Hevesi can be found in the Vienna Fremden-Blatt newspaper. Similarly, in the same month as Wagner's inaugural lecture, a new Viennese weekly newspaper, Die Zeit, appeared (edited by Heinrich Kanner, Hermann Bahr and Isidor Singer) which supported the modern movements in the arts and architecture. In passing, it is worth mentioning that significant essays by Georg Simmel (who was a friend of Singer's) were published in his weekly, as well as a positive review of Wagner's work by Bahr. In short, a number of institutional changes contributed to a new direction in the architectural discourse on modernity.

Having succeeded Hasenauer to the chair of architecture at the Academy in July 1894, Wagner gave his inaugural lecture to the Academy in October 1894 which was published, significantly, in the leading German journal Deutsche Bauzeitung and not in Vienna. [129] In contrast to the other candidates for this chair of architecture, and in the light of the appointing committee's desire to stem 'the notorious decline in monumental architecture as a goal of the Academy [and] to choose a proponent of the classical Renaissance, firmly rooted on the basis of antiquity, with talent, ability and the capacity to teach', Wagner was chosen not least because he claimed to understand '"the needs of present day life as well as bringing the application of modern building materials and constructions into accord with artistic requirements"' [130].

It was therefore, a surprise for some members of the committee and many others to hear Wagner's inaugural lecture, which did not propagate 'the classical Renaissance'. Rather, after correcting the common conception of himself as merely 'the proponent of a certain practical direction', Wagner commences his critique of the contemporary state of architecture:

> 'Almost all modern buildings culminate in revealing in their external appearance and in a more or less happy arrangement being as exact as possible copies of stylistic currents. Such good copies for which, as a rule, much is sacrificed are then

> characterised as pure styles and normally provide the standard by which a building is judged. Certain building styles are even usurped for specific purposes and the general public, and unfortunately many artists too, are of the view that this must be the case. [131]

This emphasis upon accurate copies of styles is accompanied by the increasing turnover time of stylistic repertoires in such a manner that 'building styles even change like fashions and artistic products are deliberately made "old" in order to be able to date their birth certificates from previous centuries'[132]

In contrast to this contemporary 'comedy of architecture', it was the case that from antiquity to the 'Empire' style of the nineteenth century the work of art 'was..a mirror image of its times'. Art and artists should and must represent their times. The salvation for the future cannot lie in hurrying through all stylistic currents such as accompanied recent decades. In contrast to such developments, Wagner declares that 'the starting point for all artistic creation..must be the needs, the capacities, the means and the qualities of our times. "Artis sola domina necessitas".' In order to fulfil this aim, modern architects must relate directly to the genius loci in the fullest sense, in such a way that 'our circumstances of life, our constructions must be fully and totally expressed...The realism of our times must permeate the emergent work of art', create a 'new pulsating life of forms' and master 'new areas' such as engineering in order to create 'an autonomous style that is representative of ourselves'. [133]

This rejection of the Historicist programme and an emphasis upon the creation of an architecture that is directly related to modern needs, to the realism of the times that modern architecture accurately reflects, constitutes the starting point for Wagner's Moderne Architektur commenced in the following year. The focus upon the present times and their adequate representation in architectural works - indeed as their 'mirror image' - begs many questions which will be analysed in the context of a detailed examination of Wagner's

Moderne Architektur. For the moment, his desire to make his students 'the children of our time, whose numbers I also count myself'[134] was facilitated not merely by the introduction of a new training programme (in year one concentrating on 'a simple Viennese interest generating apartment block [Zinshaus], in year two a public building and in year three 'a kind of fantasy training') - to which we will also return - but also by access to the new architecture journal, Der Architekt, which commenced publication in the following year.

Yet even before this journal was fully established, one of Wagner's first students Victor Höfert - who had already published a powerful critique of architectural training at the Academy under Hasenauer [135]- published his reflections upon the problematical concept of the modern in January 1895 under the title "Modern". [136] (I.14) That the concept of the modern be referred to in parentheses testifies not only to its problematic nature for Höfert but also coincides with Wagner's own treatment of "die Moderne" in parentheses even in the second 1898 edition of his Moderne Architektur. Höfert's analysis of the concept of the modern commences with a distinction between fashion [Mode] and modern:

> 'There exists a distinction between fashion and the modern. Fashion is the caricature of renewal [Neuerung], it is often not unjustifiably made fun of and is excluded from any logical mode of thought. In this sense, fashion is only possible in profane things...Fashion is, at all events, a matter of amazement [eine Verblüffung], it allows an arbitrary recourse to something old and is actually nothing other than a sometimes laughable, sometimes crude arbitrariness'. [137]

This narrow, negative notion of fashion is juxtaposed to an ostensibly more positive conception of the word "modern":

> 'First of all, it is the adjectival form of the substantive just referred to and therefore is just as valid as the former. Secondly, the word modern signifies the concept of the "present day, contemporary" and here logically it takes on another dimension. That which is modern [das Moderne] here signifies the product of a new, present day view point, resting upon that which has hitherto existed and logically emerged from it but free from weak reminiscences of aged and superceded views. In the first sense fashion can be something that is sought out, whereas what is

I. 14

WIENER BAUINDUSTRIE-ZEITUNG

Organ für Architekten, Ingenieure, Baumeister, Bildhauer, Bau- und Kunsthandwerker, technische Behörden und Bureaux und alle Bauinteressenten mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die gesammten baugeschäftlichen Interessen sowie neue Erfindungen und Verbesserungen auf bautechnischem und gewerblichem Gebiete unter Mitwirkung bewährter Fachschriftsteller.

Volkswirthschaftlicher Verlag Alexander Dorn.

Redacteure: Ingenieur Eduard Hoffmann; Ingenieur Rudolf Hand.

Pränumerations-Bedingungen.
(Zahlbar in Wien.)

Für Oesterreich-Ungarn . . ganzj. fl. 15.— incl. Postversendung
„ Deutschland . . . . . „ Mk. 27.— „ „
„ das übrige Ausland . . „ Frcs. 38.— „ „

Das Bauten-Album kann auch separat bezogen werden.
Preis: fl. 12.—. Mk. 22.—. Frcs. 30.—.

Abonnements können nur ganzjährig abgeschlossen werden. Wenn die Abbestellung nicht vor Ablauf erfolgt, verpflichtet sich der Abonnent zur Abnahme für ein weiteres Jahr.

Die „Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung" erscheint **wöchentlich** und bietet jedes Jahr ein

Bauten-Album von 100 Bildern

hervorragender Bauten aus Wien, Oesterreich-Ungarn und dem Auslande

Wohn- und Geschäftshäuser, Villen, Palais und öffentliche Bauten, Monumente und Brunnen, Details, Interieurs, Sculpturen in Lichtdruck und Photolithographie

nach speciellen photographischen Aufnahmen.

Redaction und Administration: Wien, IX/1, Liechtensteinstrasse 11. Telephon Nr. 811.

Das hohe k. k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht hat mit Erlass vom 17. Juni 1884, Z. 11.713, die „Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung" als Lehrmittel an den k. k. Staatsgewerbe-Schulen mit baugewerblichen Fachabtheilungen anerkannt.

Nr. 16. Wien, Donnerstag, 17. Jänner 1895. XII. Jahrgang.

„Modern."

Von Architekt **Victor Höfert.**

Nachdruck vorbehalten.

Es ist ein Unterschied zwischen Mode und modern. Die Mode ist die Caricatur der Neuerung, wird nicht mit Unrecht oft bewitzelt und gilt als von jeder logischen Denkweise ausgeschlossen. Mode in diesem Sinne ist nur in Profandingen möglich und darum nur dort, wo die Formen, die sie wandelt, des inneren Zusammenhanges entbehren können, wo sowohl Steigerung als Verfall ausgeschlossen sind. Die Mode ist eine Verblüffung auf jeden Fall, sie gestattet ein willkührliches Zurückgreifen auf Etwas Altes und ist eigentlich nichts Anderes, als eine manchmal lächerliche, manchmal rohe Willkühr. Ein Anderes ist es mit dem Begriffe und dem Worte „modern". Fürs Erste ist es das Eigenschaftswort zum vorerwähnten Substantivum und gilt daher ebensoviel als dieses. In weiter Linie bezeichnet das Wort modern den Begriff des „Heutigen, Zeitgemässen" und hier sieht es mit der Logik schon anders aus. Das Moderne soll hier das Product einer neuen zeitgemässen Anschauung sein, fussend auf dem bisher Hervorgebrachten und logisch daraus hervorgegangen, aber frei von schwächlichen Reminiscenzen veralteter und überwundener Ansichten. Die Mode im ersteren Sinne kann etwas Gesuchtes sein, das Moderne aber soll ungesucht, das heisst wirklich empfunden und frei entwickelt sein.

Die Architektur ist wie keine andere bildende Kunst berufen, den Zeitgeist einer Periode zu illustriren, und so wie bei architektonischen Werken das Verhältniss der Masse in sich und unter sich ein fundamentales Hauptgesetz bildet, also sollen auch dieselben die politischen Verhältnisse (die örtlichen, wie die zeitlichen), unter denen sie entstanden, deutlich und klar verkörpern. Es ist eigenthümlich, wie man bei der heutigen Zeit, in der man sich einbildet, einen überlegenen Ueberblick auf vergangene Kunstepochen zu haben und demgemäss logisch fortzuschreiten glaubt, gerade in diesem Punkte so haarspalterisch verschieden denkt. Wir sind gewohnt, vergangene Culturperioden nach ihren baulichen Denkmälern zu beurtheilen, und je weiter eine solche von unserer Gegenwart historisch entfernt ist, desto mehr sind wir oft einzig und allein darauf angewiesen, diese als Massstab für die Kunstentwicklung untergegangener Culturreiche anzunehmen.

Wir machen uns ein Bild von der Machtentfaltung des alten Egypterreiches, indem wir an der Hand der künstlerischen Denkmäler die Entwicklung verfolgen und die historische Bedeutung des Volkes in Einklang zu bringen suchen mit seiner Hinterlassenschaft aus dem Reiche der bildenden Kunst. Wir bemerken hiebei ein Aufblühen der Letzteren, die ziemlich übereinstimmt mit den beigefügten Daten politischen Aufschwunges, kurzum, wir sind gewohnt, das, was uns die alten Egypter als Zustände einer gewissen Zeit in ihren Denkmälern und ihren Hieroglyphen hinstellen, für baare Münze zu nehmen, und Niemandem fällt es ein, die Glaubwürdigkeit der Darstellungen in Zweifel zu ziehen. So wie hier bei diesem Volke verfahren wir ja mit jedem anderen, assyrischen, persischen, auch griechischen etc. Gehen wir der Sache auf den Grund, so finden wir thatsächlich eine gewisse Aufrichtigkeit im Wiedergeben des betreffenden Zeitbildes, und Völker, von deren Cultur auf

> modern should not be sought, in other words, it should be really discovered and freely developed'. [138]

In this context, what would a 'modern' architecture imply? For Höfert 'architecture, like no other fine art, is called upon to illustrate the spirit of the times of a historical period', including its political circumstances. One of the ironies, however, of the present period is that at the present times, when it is felt that an objective 'overview of past cultural epochs' is possible and an ability to progress beyond them is available, there is so much disagreement about them and the present period.

With respect to the past, Höfert is convinced that in a previous epoch 'each art almost exactly reproduced the image of the age of its emergence'. [139] Earlier architects 'as genuine children of their time, half consciously, half unconsciously, impressed on their works the stamp of spatial and temporal circumstances, they actually embodied - if I may express it so - the idea of the people [die Volksidee]'. [140] As to whether the same is true today, Höfert is sceptical. He asks whether many present day works perhaps express 'satirical images of the times'.

This earlier affinity between architectural expression and society was secured through the use of common, understandable language. For Höfert,

> The language of architecture was the most veritable expression of the particular times...which like the people's language and dialect was developed and unconsciously asserted but formed under the strong influence of the circumstances of the times. Hence, its application was the same as the natural expression of language that distinguishes each individual from another and yet gives it a unified trait for a group of human beings, be it family, clan, or people. [141]

This 'natural expression of language' in architecture and society and its ready comprehension is one of the features of modern architecture which Wagner later calls into question. Similarly, here, Höfert maintains that at the present time the language of architecture is 'similar to a conversation or a speech that has been extracted from an

undigested study of a conversational lexicon, with the assistance of falsely applied foreign words'. [142]

And if earlier architecture expressed the spirit of the times, what is it that present day architecture should give expression to? Höfert's unequivocal answer is that,

> 'The spirit of contemporary times is that of Realism in the temporal as well as the spatial realm. In the spatial arts, painting and sculpture have so apparently cast off Idealism and thereby have also made possible a Secession, whereas in architecture we continue to be caught up in reminiscences. [143]

The other arts have responded to the 'major transformations in our public life' and the modern discoveries which have so rapidly transformed our mode of life in recent years.

Although Höfert recognizes that even if the mode of architectural representation of the modern world view is in dispute, it remains true that 'we have a modern mode of thought....which we should permit to be reflected in our works too'. However, the sheer speed of transformation of public life in this respect creates a problem since

> 'Precisely these all too rapid changes are the cause of a certain accentuation of circumstances that thereby conjure up the nervous haste and desire, but also simultaneously the unreal, the "spurious" [Talmi]. It is this orientation which unfortunately dominates modern architecture, lacking the depth and truth in art. What we have offered to us as modern constructions in Austria and Germany is more fashion than modern. [144]

Although there are a number of exceptions, a problem for the modern 'is its confusion with originality. Something modern can of course be original, but it does not in any way have to be original; but the modern, if it is genuine, is original'. [145]

The way forward for creating the modern lies with recognizing the value of previous materials and contemporary times rather than 'extracting from everything merely what is momentarily valuable'. The result of the latter is to produce a work that is momentarily fashionable. As Höfert argues,

> 'The recipe of some modern architects is roughly as follows: Take roughly five volumes of an architectural review, several

> annual volumes of the Wiener Bauten-Album [which appeared as an annual supplement to the Wiener Bauindustrie - Zeitung in which Höfert's article appears - DF], a number of Materiaux and other French works, and do not forget, the many German newspapers and books, if possible also many photographs, flick through the journals and works for the appropriate illustrations, group the choice of all these on the work desk and work them energetically together; a new work, a child of whatever number of fathers, also very modern'. [146]

In contrast, Höfert maintains that the genuinely modern is grounded in the rich foundation of earlier work 'and yet released from earlier interpretations, utilizing the higher overview, applying the peak of the times and striving further: forwards, onwards! This is modern!' [147]

Although commentators such as Schachel [148] have interpreted Höfert's article as a critical response to Wagner's views, it is also plausible to see this article as one upon which Wagner may have drawn when composing his Moderne Architektur. The juxtaposition of fashion and the modern (and it is noticeable that Höfert refers throughout to das Moderne in contrast to the then already common die Moderne, in part as contrast to die Antike - antiquity) received a different treatment in an October issue of the then one year old weekly Viennese journal Die Zeit by Georg Simmel in an article titled 'Zur Psychologie der Mode: Sociologische Studie' [149](On the Psychology of Fashion : a Sociological Study), the first of several of his influential treatments of fashion. [150] And although commentators have often made use of versions of Simmel's essay (the fullest appearing in 1905) in relation to fashion and architecture in Vienna and elsewhere, [151] none has sought fit to suggest a possible direct connection between this first version of 12th October 1895 and Wagner's Moderne Architektur published the following year. In all probability, given his habitus, Wagners was a reader of Die Zeit and, if that could be confirmed, it would not rule out the possibility that his attention may well have been drawn to this piece by Simmel.

As in virtually all his articles, Simmel commences with an antinomy, an opposition, in this case between rest and movement, receptivity and activity, 'quiet surrender to human

beings and things, but then energetic activity with regard to them' as opposing features of our physiological and mental constitution. Philosophically, this opposition may be seen 'centuries ago as the opposition of the Eleatic School and Heraclitus or at the moment as embodied in that of socialism and individualism'. [152] Socially and historically, our forms of life display not merely 'the effectiveness of these antagonistic principles' but also serve to unify the interest in permanence and persistence with that of transformation and change, to establish a reconciliation between the tendency towards generality and similarity and that of particularity and uniqueness, to bring about a compromise between surrender to the social totality and the assertion of individuality'. [153]

Socially, these two contradictory tendencies may be characterised as 'the psychological tendency to imitation', as the search for 'permanence in change' on the one hand, and on the other the search for 'individual differentiation, independence, elevation from the general', for 'change in permanence'. In architecture - and this is not Simmel's theme - and in contemporary discussion in Vienna, imitation accords with what Wagner later refers to as the 'villa cemeteries' in the suburbs and the uniformity [Gleichmässigkeit] in groups and rows of buildings in the city. The search for individuality is expressed in individual villas, in strikingly different structures.

For Simmel, the social form which, above all others, most pointedly represents the attempt to reconcile uniformity and differentiation is fashion. On the one hand, fashion fulfils 'the need for social support insofar as it is imitation' whilst on the other, it satisfies 'the need to be distinctive, the tendency towards differentiation, change, self elevation'. In short, 'fashion is a distinctive entity amongst those forms of life through which one seeks to establish a compromise between the tendency towards social equalisation and towards individual drives for distinction'. [154] Again it should be noted that social equalisation and

levelling are not merely significant themes for Simmel (especially in relation to the developed money economy) but also for Wagner in relation to the appartment block.

Viewed sociologically, fashion is also 'a product of social class distinction' insofar as higher social strata seek both to identify others in the same social ranking system and to differentiate themselves from lower social groups. Simmel assumes that fashion travels from the higher to the lower strata and not vice-versa insofar as 'the social forms, clothing, aesthetic judgements, the whole style in which human beings expresses themselves are conceived in perpetual transformation by means of fashion'. [155] This class specific and class differentiating dimension of fashion is seldom examined in relation to architecture in this period.

Simmel maintains that since fashion is associated with newness and individualism (even the possibility of an individual fashion), some social groupings have a greater affinity with fashion than do others. If the total rhythm in which individuals and groups 'move' is one of dynamic change and circulation, then these are the groups within which fashion is located:

> The middle class is the one of real variability, and therefore the history of social and cultural movements also gained a totally new tempo since the tiers état achieved domination. And this is the reason why we can understand how it is that fashion - the changing and contradictory form of life, for whose contents the moment of the achieved height is at the same time that of its decline - since precisely this time, since the domination of the bourgeoisie, has extended itself to so many more areas, has resounded in so many more daring and colourful rhythms and has gained so much broad validity. Classes and individuals that are restless and longing for change once more find in fashion the tempo of their own psychological movements: it possesses a very pointed consciousness curve. [156]

What Simmel does not point out, but what follows from this analysis, is that where this domination by the bourgeoisie is incomplete or only partially realized, the dominant cultural norms regulating life style, taste, etc. remain contested and the pursuit of the fashionable

and the modern is continuously challenged. The 'merely' fashionable becomes a constituent element of a critique of modernity. This can take the form of identification of fashion with the female, as Simmel maintains as a result of 'a lack of differentiation' compared to males. In a modern partriarchial society, the pursuit of what is fashionable is denounced as 'merely' a female preoccupation. As Schorske, [157] Dijkstra, [158] and many others have indicated, the indentification of modernism and 'die Moderne' as female rested upon problematical foundations in Vienna. The gendered nature of discourse upon fashion itself in this period - and beyond - can be illustrated in references to fashion in the writings of Wagner and Adolf Loos. As Mary McLeod has argued, in his Moderne Architektur

> 'Wagner completely ignored women's dress, except for a comment...in which he stated that because of women's lack of proper artistic training, "the artistic contribution of half of mankind is frustrated achieving a result that is no doubt unsatisfactory". Clearly, it was the utility and honesty of modern (i.e. male) fashion, and not its attributes of masquerade and artifice that Wagner applauded. What he did not acknowledge was that the functionalism of male fashion resembled conventional interpretations of "male" dress as utilitarian and relatively static'. [159]

The significance of this claim must be examined in a later chapter.

The critique of modernity can also take the form of a deliberate pursuit of the 'unfashionable'. Simmel, with reference to the individual and social unification of individualisation and imitation in fashion, highlights this contrary case:

> 'An identical combination of these two tendencies, as they are achieved through extreme obedience to fashion, can, however, also be gained through opposition to it. Whoever dresses or deports themselves in a consciously unmodern manner, achieves the sense of individualisation associated with it...through the mere negation of the social example: if modernity [Modernität] is the imitation of the latter, then deliberate lack of modernity [Unmodernität] is this imitation with reverses premises..' [160]

Simmel recognizes that this pursuit of the 'unmodern' can prevail 'in whole social circles'. Such reflections are directly relevant to the Austro-Hungarian Empire which, at the turn of the century, remained predominantly agricultural rather than industrial capitalist in its economic composition, and still quasi-feudal and aristocratic in its overall political constitution. This conjuncture of modernity and 'unmodernity' is commented upon by Adolf Loos with reference to Vienna[161] and more generally by Ernst Bloch with reference to noncontemporareity in ostensibly modern societies (Weimar and Nazi Germany). [162]

Also of relevance to the architectural discourse on modernity and fashion is Simmel's recognition of the relationship between fashion and masking. It may be that 'refined and prominent human beings use fashion as a mask, a conscious and deliberate reserve of their most personal feelings and taste'. The preservation of one's 'innermost essence' is facilitated by 'the concealing levelling of fashion'. The identity of exteriors, the identity and replicability of appartments can hide the distinctiveness and uniqueness of their interiors. The outside/inside and public/private antinomies in architecture were to be played out in Wagner's Moderne Architektur and more fully, as Beatriz Colomina has sought to demonstrate, in the work of Loos. [163]

For Simmel, however, it is the temporal rather than the spatial dimensions of fashion that receive a fuller treatment. The paradoxes of fashion, over and above their psychological, social, class and gender dimensions culminate in a temporal tension. On the one hand, precisely in the fact that fashion 'directs attention very strongly to itself, and signifies a momentary accentuation of social consciousness upon a specific point, there lies also already the seeds of its own death, its destiny to become extinct'. [164] On the other hand, however,

> 'in contrast to this, it also offers the remarkable phenomenon that each individual fashion appears as if it wished to live for eternity. Today, whoever buys a piece of furniture that should remain intact for a quarter of a century, purchases it in keeping with the

> latest fashion and in no way considers that which was fashionable two years previously....it appears that herein lies a dialectical-psychological process: the fact that indeed there always exists a fashion, that this fashion as a universal concept is immortal reflects upon each individual one of its manifestations, even though the essence of each individual one is precisely that of not being immutable. The fact that change persists here gives to each of the objects upon which change has an effect a psychological shimmer of permanence. [165]

Hence the real attraction of fashion rests in the pointed contrast between its widest extension and its 'fundamental transitoriness - which, for its part still also confronts that apparent claim to permanent validity'. [166]

When compared with Höfert's reflections on the relationship between fashion and modernity, Simmel's essay raises a much wider range of issues in greater depth that could be of direct relevance to architectural discourse on modernity in Vienna in this crucial period. They include the relationship between modernity and 'unmodernity', the relationship between the transitory and the immutable, the social class and gender dimensions of fashion, fashion as masking (crucial since Semper's earlier reflections on style) as well as other aspects of the dynamics of fashion. In the context of Wagner's work, Simmel's essay is given added significance in the light of a common component in Wagner's study programme for his students, namely 'the review and critique of the journals in the discipline which took place every Monday morning in the twenty years of the Wagner School...What was at issue here is not Wagner's instructional commentary, but a discussion of Austrian and sometimes also French, English, American, Russian and Italian journals. The teacher permitted no absences from these discussions and encouraged students to take up critical positions'. [167] Given the critical content of the Die Zeit journal and its commentary on architecture and Vienna, it cannot be ruled out that even Simmel's essay was the subject of discussion.

VII

For over a decade, from 1895 onwards, with the establishment of the journal Der Architekt by its editor Ferdinand Fellner Ritter von Feldegg, Wagners's students in particular (but later those of Friedrich Ohmann and others) had access to what became one of the most prestigious, progressive architecture journal in Vienna, not merely for the presentation of their projects but also, no doubt encouraged by Wagner, the presentation of their views on architecture and the modern movement. As Pozzetto indicates, Feldegg as editor 'in the beginning..did not publish the works of the Wagner students without reservations, but in the course of several years, Der Architekt became through him the official organ of the modern tendencies. In addition, under his direction the journal reached such a level that it became one of the best of its period'. [168] In all there were 13 supplementary numbers of the journal titled 'Aus der Wagner Schule' (From Wagner's School), each with a brief preface by a student. Their views on modernity and architecture were thus able to reach a wide professional audience.

The tension between Feldegg's initial position and that of Wagner's students may be seen in the contrast between Feldegg's piece 'In what style should we build?' (1895) [169] and the early statements by Wagner's students. Feldegg maintains that 'everything that exists is modern', indeed

> 'we are modern (since in the meantime we term our literature "Modern" [Moderne]), the whole of humanity is modern, and is in fact so because it is embedded in its own time, just like everyone in their own body. Our town hall is modern as is the parliament, although the former is Gothic and the latter Greek, our university is modern as is our museum despite their Italian Renaissance forms'. [170]

In other words, in the case of all architects 'you build modern'. Yet in one respect, at least, Feldegg in his outline of the journal's programme at the conclusion of its first year of existence, recognizes that 'powerful contradictory forces in the present day animate the whole cultural endeavour; gone is the time in which art recognized only one line of direction: the belief in the validity of tradition'. [171]

In contrast, Max Fabiani, as the first to introduce the supplement from the Wagner School in 1895, [172] focuses upon Realism against Feldegg's association of modernity with eclecticism, whilst recognizing that the clarion calls of 'realism, truth' in the other arts were late in impacting upon architecture 'which penetrates most deeply into real life circumstances'. Instead, architecture was preoccupied with 'the world of forms of whole epochs (stylistic currents) instead of 'modern life conditions, the much higher knowledge of construction in our century, and the technology of totally new materials'. [173] In this context, Fabiani maintains,

> 'Our conditions of life must be fully and totally brought out in their expression, if architecture is not to sink totally into a caricature. The realism of our times must permeate the emergent work of art'. [174]

The elaboration of Fabiani's arguments are supplemented by quotations from Wagner which indicate that Fabiani is either citing Wagner's Moderne Architektur text or that Wagner is developing sections of the texts in his classes, a situation which has led some, such as Schachel to suggest that the text of Wagner's volume is derived from Fabiani's notes - a possibility which cannot be conclusively verified. [175]

The second introduction to the Wagner School supplement (again by Fabiani) in 1896 and the third for 1897 (signed J.V.K.) both emphasize the resistance to the modern realist tradition. The anonymous introduction for 1898 - the year of the Emperor's 50 year Jubilee Exhibition - warns of the false 'modern' that seeks to take up some of the details of

the new movement without being embedded 'in the spirit of our new artistic direction'. [176] The most extensive foreword is provided by Alfred Roller for the 1900 supplement. [177] Roller recognizes the contradictory legacy left behind 'in word and deed' for anyone wishing to explore 'the history of modernity in Vienna' Somewhat problematically, he asserts that

> The times of major political or economic transformation are bad times for the extension of art...The new art took hold in Vienna, passing through the greatest, most penetrating and fullest of all transformations that it has experienced since its formation. The transition to a metropolis. [178]

At first sight, therefore, anyone investigating the contemporary scene may learn that 'modernity [die Moderne], at its emergence in Vienna has celebrated a brilliant victory, but he will see, simultaneously, that in reality it has nowhere been more grossly misunderstood than here', [179] and in no respect more so than in the 'Secession' movement's reception. In general, however, the introductions to the Wagner School supplements of Der Architekt seldom substantively extend the discussion of modernity. Rather it is often the debate on modernity and architecture that provide new insights into this relationship.

As indicated earlier, the problematic of modern architectural style that can be traced back at least to the 1820s certainly continues to the end of the century and beyond. Occasionally new elements to this discussion are introduced, ones that accord with the position being adopted by Wagner and his followers from the mid 1890s onwards. In particular, the identification of style with decoration is increasingly challenged. In 'Our Style' (1896), [180] the critic Fritz Minkus takes up the often cited absence of a style in modern times in the applied arts except in the sense of 'having created a truly new "style", the "imitation style"'. [181] However, with respect to modern architecture, Minkus argues that

> 'today it finds itself at the stage of the technical foundation of its new style; of course this can only hold for profane architecture,

> and indeed really for the architecture of dwelling and utility buildings in the narrowest sense of the word'. [...] Our practical times allow their style to develop out of the practical buildings of modern life; in our dwelling houses and commercial buildings, in our factories, railway stations, exhibition halls, market halls and bridges we can already clearly detect - in technical terms - the hints of the new stylistic spirit'. [182]

However, at the same time, large numbers of speculative constructions in the modern period assert their modern nature more obviously in decoration columns, imitation plasterwork and the like than in new construction methods. For this reason, 'one must rigidly distinguish between stylistic innovations that largely have its main driving force in new ornamental tendencies, and between stylistic innovations that basically have new constructive tendencies as their main driving force'. [183]

This distinction enables us to explain why, when surveying the Historicist extreme diversity of styles brought about by 'pedantic, pandering, historicizing art theory replacing artistic praxis oriented towards new creations', none of the earlier styles became the universally valid one. In this respect,

> 'the old styles could in fact only be attached to decorative purposes - our times imperiously demanded a new technical style...Today, as a result of the escalating price of building plots we need powerful, imposing structures, light structures for our most diverse commercial and industrial life, we need spaces of gigantic breadth for our factory areas, our railway system...our new style has powerfully and healthily developed as if from itself out of constructive necessity: the iron style'. [184]

This new development will encourage new applied arts to create ornament for these new constructions that together will constitute a new style truly appropriate to modern times - 'when this will be achieved cannot be predicted, but that it will be achieved, of that we can be certain!' [185]

A challenge in a not dissimilar vein to the domination of the ornamental in architecture is provided by Fritz Schumacher's 'The Longing For the "New"' (1897). [186]

The identification of what is new with what is original, especially in contemporary architecture and applied arts 'has been transformed from an attestation of judgement into a demand'. [187] In part, Schumacher sees this longing for the new as emerging out of 'a healthy reaction' against a negative feature of present day circumstances, namely,

> the excess of existing models....The incomparable development of the reproductive arts and the perfection of historical research today transposes us into the possibility of conjuring up for ourselves the culture of any epoch in our study, an excess of impressions surrounds us and fills out our fantasies, whether we wish to or not. [188]

The reaction to this proliferation and excess of pre-existing architectural models drawn from diverse historical cultures is a call to break away from 'the language of forms of earlier historical periods' and the creation of a 'new style'.

Like Minkus, Schumacher recognizes that new tasks for architecture have arisen out of technical and social developments:

> 'Rapid technical development and social transformations of all kinds have given to our times an overwhelmingly large number of building tasks to solve, for which there were no pre existing models. The railway station, the palace of justice, the commercial block, the huge bridges, parliament buildings, market halls, and even the apartment house - these are all problems whose solution requires not merely an aesthetic but, above all else, as it were, an organic new creation'. [189]

However, what can be achieved as a 'new' development may well be technical in nature but can just as well be at the level of 'the complex spatial creation and the synthesis of spatial creations'. Hence it is possible for architecture to solve these new tasks and still produce a building true to an earlier stylistic form (such as Renaissance). That this may be possible arises out of the fact that 'behind the aesthetic language of forms of an earlier period a new organism is already hidden, that has perhaps still not been fully embodied, and that it is shortsighted to take a persons clothing for the whole human being'. In this respect,

Schumacher rejects the notion that the present situation is one of a revolution in architecture, not least because the rejection of the mass of earlier modes of ornamentation as revolutionary both over emphasizes the significance of ornament and fails to recognise that 'ornament is not the melody but the accompaniment in architecture. Hence, 'the longing..for what is externally visibly new, which therefore initially and above all makes contact with ornament, because it is most easily recognizable here for the fleeting glance, has nothing to do with the continuous developmental chain'. [190]

Schumacher's recognition of at least one dimension of the ambiguity of the relationship between construction and cladding points to an obvious pitfall not merely with a superficial preoccupation with 'the new' but also with future historical research of this late nineteenth century period which searches only for a predetermined modern movement and thus interprets this past as part of a unilinear development of the modern. The result is to ignore the majority of other architectural works or at least to overlook them as merely Historicist, in favour of those judged to be clearly part of the 'modern' movement. In turn, such an interpretation ignores the persistence of Historicist variants beyond the turn of the century. But, more significantly, it overlooks the large category of architectural work that is neither 'modern' or Jugendstil in this context nor Historicist. There is a considerable amount of work which at first sight appears to be a mixed category, one that Feldegg refers to with respect to the work of Friedrich Ohmann - after 1904 the incumbent of the second chair of architecture in the Academy alongside Wagner - as the 'historical-modern'.[191] (I.15) Even to consider this categorisation superficially would be to call into question the rigid antinomy of the old and the new.

Perhaps unintentionally, this is the chosen theme for a competition in Der Architekt, whose results were announced in May 1898, on 'The Old and the New Direction in Architecture, a parallel with special reference to Viennese artistic circumstances'. [192] The

Feldegg on Ohmann's 'Historical-Modern' Style I.15

Der Roßmarkt oder St. Wenzels-Platz in Prag. Gezeichnet von Friedrich Ohmann. Nach dem Original für das Werk: „Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild." Verlag der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Wien.

Historisch-Modern.

Die künftige Kunstgeschichtsschreibung wird, wenn sie bei der Schilderung unserer Zeit anlangt, vor einer recht schwierigen Aufgabe stehen. Sie wird ihre ganze Besonnenheit und Objektivität nötig haben. Es wird ihr gehen wie einem, der vor einer zankenden und gestikulierenden Menge steht und sagen soll, wer recht, wer unrecht hat. Wen soll er zuerst anhören? Wem glauben? — Oder es wird ihr gehen wie dem Auge, das durch eine Glasfacette blickt. Welcher Tanz der Formen! Welches Durcheinand! Oben und unten, rechts und links — alles scheint vertauscht! Das wird, wie gesagt, die Schwierigkeit der künftigen Geschichte sein.

Vor einer noch viel schwierigeren, ja vollkommen gar nicht zu lösenden Aufgabe stehen aber wir zeitgenössischen Beurteiler. Wir stehen nämlich nicht bloß vor der gestikulierenden Menge — sondern in ihr; wir blicken nicht bloß durch die Glasfacette in den Raum, sondern wir sind eine solche Facette selbst, in der sich alle Eindrücke brechen, spiegeln, verwirren und fast gar nicht ergänzen.

Leicht haben es nur diejenigen, die entweder unbedingt alles Neue verwerfen oder es unbedingt hinnehmen. Auf die eine oder andere Weise kann man freilich auch heute leicht selig werden, kann man leicht zu jener Ruhe einer gefestigten Meinung gelangen, die nun einmal zu den Bedürfnissen des intellektuellen Menschen gehört — seine Selbstzufriedenheit bedingt. Aber wir anderen! Wir, die wir nicht zu sagen vermögen: Gemach, das Neue wird „ablaufen wie ein Wildwasser, bis sich der normale" (d. i. der alte!) „Zustand allmählich wieder herstellt" (Professor Josef Bayer). Wir, die wir aber ebensowenig zu sagen vermögen: Heureka! Das, was uns not tut, ist jetzt auch gefunden! Die Kunst unserer Tage ist auch die Kunst unserer gesamten Zeit, und wer das nicht glaubt, ist einfach ein Untermensch! Wir also, die wir weder jenes noch dieses sagen können, haben es schwer. Aber nicht bloß schwer; wir haben auch keinen Dank zu erwarten, weder hüben noch drüben. Wir gleichen also aufs Haar demjenigen, der — zwischen zwei Stühlen sitzt. Aber freilich — und dies ist unser Trost — hat von einem solchen schon der Apostel gesagt, daß er dafür einst an der Seite Gottes sitzen wird.

Zu dieser Inschau veranlaßt mich eine Reihe von Aufnahmen alter Prager Architekturen von der Hand unseres trefflichen Fr. Ohmann, die wir nach den Originalen wiedergeben. Welcher frische, durchaus modern anmutende Zug in der virtuosen zeichnerischen Darstellung — und zugleich welche intime, adäquate Wiedergabe des historischen Charakters des Dargestellten!

Diese Blätter Ohmanns offenbaren in der Tat die ganze, und zwar höchst merkwürdige Künstlerindividualität ihres Schöpfers: Eine gleichsam zwei Glaubensbekenntnisse in sich vereinigende, zur ausgeglichenen künstlerischen Einheit verschmolzene Doppelnatur. Ganz aufgewachsen in der historischen Schule, ganz erfüllt von den großen monumentalen Endergebnissen derselben, zumal wie solche das Barock in sich beschließt, fand Ohmann und findet er noch beständig einen subjektiven, ihm ganz allein eigentümlichen Übergang zur neuen Schule. Er ist Historiker und Moderner zugleich. Diese beiden Kunstweisen, die wir gewohnt sind, in einem fast unversöhnlichen Gegensatze zueinander zu denken, haben sich in Ohmann miteinander vertragen gelernt, sind, gebändigt durch seine Künstlerschaft, eine glückliche Verbindung eingegangen, haben Frieden in Apoll geschlossen.

Daß dies möglich war und also möglich ist, setzt aber freilich nicht allein hohe Künstlerschaft desjenigen voraus, der diese Verbindung vollzogen hat, sondern auch eine im Wesen beider Schulen begründete, nur nicht an der Oberfläche, sondern in der Tiefe liegende, ich will nicht sagen: Verwandtschaft, denn die scheint wirklich ausgeschlossen, aber doch Berührungsstelle. Hier liegt also ein Problem vor, ein Problem, das sich in die Frage bringen läßt: Wie ist ein Ausgleich, eine Verbindung, eine Synthesis der historischen und der modernen Richtung in der heutigen Architektur möglich? Denn, daß es zum wenigsten in einem einzelnen Falle möglich ist, dafür scheint mir eben Ohmann den Beweis zu liefern.

Nun, ich glaube, dieses Problem ist im Grunde mehr paradox als tief. Es wird uns heute — betäubt vom Schlachtengetümmel — nur schwer gemacht, derlei Probleme einer ruhigen, besonnenen Betrachtung und Lösung

judges of this competition were Max Fabiani, Feldegg and Karl Henrici (and hence a Wagner student and supporter, an architect whose work did not stand close to the 'modern' Wagner School but who, as editor of Der Architekt supported a variety of aesthetic and practical positions and, Henrici, an architect who, on the basis of his affinities with Camillo Sitte and his largely hostile review of Wagner's Moderne Architektur, manifested strong opposition to the current Viennese modernism). The jury's ranking of the brief position papers in descending order was Josef Freiherr von Dahlen, Adolf Loos, and Leopold Bauer. As indication of a further 'fourth' position the essay by Victor Höfert was published in the same issue of Der Architekt. Possibly associated with these Viennese contributions, an anonymous article on 'The Old and the New in Architecture' also appeared in the January 1898 issue of the Deutsche Bauzeitung. [193]

Dahlen characterizes the present period as the 'mask procession of styles', arising out of an epoch with 'a cultural idea without ethical content, whose roots did not extend into the depths of the people's soul [Volksseele] but rather emanated from a notion of purely intellectual origin - the idea of rationalisation, of material utility [Zwecklichkeit]'. Its structures remained, 'merely materialisations of endless, diverse concrete purposes and 'whoever wanders with open eyes through the major modern cities marches past the illustrated history of past cultural phases in living awareness'. [194] That this Historicist epoch has reached its endpoint is signalled by satiation with rapidly changing styles, an architecture dominated by building speculation and the death of style serialisation with the Empire Style. This negativity announces, however, a positive 'preparatory revolution in the mode of feeling of our age'. Yet, for Dahlen, this new artistic mode will still be grounded in the past, in the forms which have best suited modern purposes - 'high Renaissance'. This gradual development is appropriate since 'architecture knows no leap-like development'. But this development will nonetheless be that of modernity, as

exemplified in 'the new Vienna School', whose intention is 'to create appropriate building types for modern circumstances'. As well as in monumental structures, in the insertion of modern iron constructions into stone architecture, 'the reformist strivings of "modernity" are openly revealed to us in rented apartment blocks and department stores'. The goal that is aimed for here is 'the greatest possible harmony between the given practical purpose and architectural appearance'. Here the architect rejects the earlier predilection for palace architecture and instead, 'by treating wall surfaces partly as bearers of flat relief decoration in plaster style, partly as broad pillars extending up to the roof, through strong emphasis of the broad unloaded roof securing the building safely, modern architecture has undoubtedly created a new building type'. [195] However, the inability to vary extensively this building type in turn creates the danger of creating 'unbearable monotony in its repetition in long rows of buildings'. Dahlen is less convinced of the validity of some of the basic principles introduced by modern architecture. His critique of them is directed specifically at Wagner's Moderne Architektur, a critique which reiterates issues raised in his own and Richard Streiter's earlier review of Wagner's volume. The basic criticism that is levelled by Dahlen is that,

> 'The "modern movement" [die "Moderne"] replaces its artistic practice basically inspired by the ancient principle of structure [Gestaltung] with another that is fundamentally opposed to it. It is not Semper's ancient system of cladding [Bekleidung], hiding the building framework beneath the organic forms of ideal constructional structures that it theoretically terms its own but rather the absolute construction pure and simple'. [196]

This assertion - attributed to Wagner - of construction determining form is erroneous, according to Dahlen, because it overlooks the converse situation in which form determines construction, and because the emphasis upon 'the pure-mechanical-material principle of construction' ignores the development of new forms (Baroque, Rococco) that do not lead to the creation of new materials and constructions. To accept this modern principle of

priority of construction and a 'construction style'[197] would create a situation in which 'in place of the art form in the ancient sense, here the changeable work form emerge, related merely to the respective purpose and what would remain of architecture would be merely exterior decoration'. Dahlen concludes with a plea to retain the ancient principle of creating an artistically unified structure over against attempts - which Dahlen maintains have always failed - to assert the primacy of construction as such and, with respect to the materials of construction, to unite iron with stone and brickwork.

As befits the totally different position paper by Adolf Loos, it bears the simple title 'A-B-C', compares with Dahlen's 'Veritas'. Loos's outline of recent developments in architecture commence with the role of craft work. After a period favouring the mental labourer (presumably the architecture historian's impact upon Historicism), Loos maintains that 'the hand worker is again being honoured' in part as a result of the influence of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. The architect, responding to this, must also spend more time upon the practice of building:

> 'In the studio itself, possibly even on the actual site, the master, after several sketches, will let the ornament [Schmuck] be modelled and himself, after precise study of lighting and distance from the observer, will take on the corrections. Of course, this will take up a good deal of his time. He will therefore build less. The great architectural offices, major construction factories will disappear.
> Yet how will these buildings look completed in this manner? One can certainly assume that they will present themselves much more conservatively than our storm and stress followers dream of. For architecture connects to feelings and habits that will be influenced continuously from already existing buildings, that indeed emanate from thousands of years'. [198]

In this sense and 'despite all transformation in the spirit of the times, architecture will remain the most conservative of the arts'.

Without explicitly naming him, Loos implicitly questions some of Wagner's assumptions on modernity and temporality. For Loos, 'the architect not merely creates for his time, but posterity also has the right to be able to enjoy his work. There one does indeed require a fixed, unchangeable standard and this is contemporary and for the future, until perhaps a great event calls forth a complete transposition, classical antiquity'. Hence the future architect will be a classicist which will ensure 'a much richer language of forms' than 'the Schinkel-Semper Schools'. On the other hand, the future architect,

> 'in order to do justice also to the material needs of his time...must also be a modern human being. He must not only know precisely the cultural needs of his time but must himself stand at the pinnacle of this culture. For he has it in his power, through the construction of a plan, through the structuring of objects for use to give another stamp to specific cultural forms and useages. For this reason he never leads culture downwards, only upwards'. [199]

In addition, the future architect 'must also be a gentleman', who does not lie, 'even with regard to materials'. But since he cannot master all materials equally, there will be a division of labour between architects specializing in particular materials just as, previously, there was a division of labour amongst craftsmen (the stonemason, bricklayer, plasterer, carpenter). This plurality of participants in a single building work will reduce the monotony of the same ornaments and details.

Loos claims that his perspective on the future has not become lost in the fantasy world of utopia. Rather, these suggestions are valid for the present and the immediate future: 'I did not find it necessary to investigate whether social transformations will call forth new forms and thoughts. For at the present time the capitalist world view still predominates. And my reflections are only valid for this one'. [200]

The Wagner student Leopold Bauer - later successor to Wagner's Chair of Architecture - commences from the two concepts that constitute architecture 'constructing

or building and beautification of these constructions', the latter in accord with our sensibilities. But the recourse to past forms of construction to satisfy the desire for stability is being replaced by a new ideal, 'not real stability but the appearance [Schein] of stability has its effect upon our senses'. [201] This appearance of stability, in turn, must have a real foundation, but where we begin to apply new materials for construction, such as iron, the latter 'still impacts upon our present day concept of beauty in a perplexing manner'. We respond with difficulty to its new constructions because we are unaccustomed to them and they are not always presented in an artistic manner. Nonetheless, we will recognize in the future that 'the monumental language of architecture can be read in the web of iron building'.

Viewing architecture from the second concept, as an art form, recent times have witnessed a call for 'our times, our own style' without recognizing that 'we already build in the new style even though in an incomplete manner'. This new style is evident in the modern metropolis in its streets and in its modern buildings:

> Through transformed circumstances, through the dramatic expansion of a modern city even the house has been transformed under coercion into a new element. It is not the pillars or the window with the caricatured tympanon that are the foundation of our new architecture, but the house itself is an elementary concept: for the work of art is called - the street. [202]

Bauer's logical extension of Wagner's emphasis upon the metropolis transforming the modern street - not merely through the activities of the architect but also the engineer, the public health official, the lawyer and others - into a work of art is confirmation of the impact of the new discipline of Städtebau (literally building cities) upon both architecture and aesthetic awareness in modernity.

Bauer insists upon the artistic transformation of the modern metropolis and its new individual elements. He recommends that

> 'in future an artistic rhythm of monumental and excellent buildings must break through the stereotype of the building line. Individual buildings must stand in artistic relationship to one another and subordinate themselves as is required by the new, higher organization. In Otto Wagner's rented apartment block [Zinshaus] we have this new building element which corresponds to our present day circumstances. Since antiquity, it is for the first time the case that architecture has produced a new element of a higher order. It is from this standpoint that the idea of Wagner's rented apartment block must be judged. [203]

In its structure, Wagner's apartment block is 'almost naively simple' born totally from its times, and from a 'general need'. The apartment block is itself only part of the modern streets and, in order to avoid 'the deadly boredom of modern street', preoccupation with buildings' adornments and artistic flourishes is not the answer but rather 'an artistic composition of the image of the street' itself.

The development of modern culture will transform the metropolis in such a manner that

> the city as dwelling places of human beings possesses a fundamentally different system than does for instance, an ant hill or a coral reef. The inner harmony of intellectually more advanced entities must also express itself through dwelling places that [are] independent of fortuitousness...Wagner's rented block is the first type of such a future structure because it possesses all the qualities of a new architectural element, namely relative completeness and unlimited capacity for combination [204]

Bauer concludes with an extension of these reflections to a future where streets, cities and even countries will be 'subordinated to a great idea' for the 'creation of a harmonic freely willed beauty'. In this respect, Bauer's reflections conclude with a concept of the future as 'progressive development', the extension of the regulated city, indeed close to Wagner's later notion of an unbounded metropolis.

Höfert's 'Old and New Direction' which was published in Der Architekt is largely concerned with the parallels and contrasts between the architecture of the extension of Vienna after 1857 and the most recent tendencies. Whereas the former emphasizes the

monumental structure and completion in detail, 'the new direction goes in the opposite direction, instead of from the large into the small, from the detail to the whole'. In part Höfert sees this as due to the new emphasis upon the applied arts and emphasis upon the architectural interior instead of the exterior. This new direction, Höfert argues, was influenced by English and American artistic traditions, which avoided the Historicist excesses in favour of comfort but which, in turn, hardly constituted a style in itself. Rather, after racing through the 'repertoire' of styles in the period from the 1860's to the 1880's in Vienna, a new direction was sought and many found in the 'uninfluenced by style' [dimension] of the Anglo-American "new style"'. [205]

Like Bauer, Dahlen and others, Höfert emphasizes the apartment house development by Wagner with its removal of the significance of storeys in the building, the emphasis upon construction and the surface of the facade. The contrast between Semper, Hansen and architects of this generation and the new direction may be seen in the following contrast:

> Whereas Hansen, for example, emphasized the architectures of two or three windows one above the other and synthesised them into a unity, Wagner especially emphasized the strips of wall between the windows, such that the latter lost their significance. [206]

This 'materialistic trait' contrasts markedly with the 'earlier symbolic cladding'. However, Höfert is not optimistic concerning a new direction being derived from outside (neither the Anglo-American tendencies nor French 'Empire') but rather from within and on the foundation of Viennese traditions (and against the 'polyglott' possibilities created by movements of peoples). The modern tendency is to be found not in the monumental but in the specific limits of a building type since,

> The small scale in which the "modern" direction can work in architecture, its unboundedness in relation and detail, the large amount of latitude from the simplest to the most magnificent design secure it a rich application in the dwelling and commercial

> building, outside of which it will find stronger opponents. Modern life develops too rapidly to give space for a unified style'. [207]

The space for the modern is thus confined, in contrast to Bauer, in the single building type most often associated with Wagner's work and on whose design Wagner's students were to spend the first years of their training studying and perfecting.

VIII

If the previous interventions on the theme of modernity have largely taken the form of individual reflections, with the exception of the 1898 competition in Der Architekt (whose individual contributions were radically different and produced no evident debate within the journal), the same cannot be said of the debate within the Association of Austrian Engineers and Architects from December 1898 to January 1899. [208] The occasion was a lecture given by the architect Franz von Neumann on 'Modernity in Architecture and in the Applied Arts'. [209] This was to be the only sustained debate on modernity as such within the professional association before the First World War. The discussion within the Association of Austrian Architects (very largely an association consisting of Wagner supporters) of 1910, [210] however wide-ranging, focussed upon Wagner's plans for a new city museum and can hardly be said to have constituted a debate, given the composition of this association. The response to Neumann's lecture may itself perhaps not have been so great had not the Vienna Secession been established in the previous year and Olbrich's Secession building been opened in 1898. The publication of the ensuing debate in the March and April 1899 issues of the official association's journal is, as indicated, the first sustained debate on modernity in the journal. The Austrian Engineers and Architects Association had concerned itself in the preceding decade and earlier with the construction

and expansion of the city of Vienna, in a sense with the practical manifestations of modernity without theoretical reflection upon them. And although, as we shall see, the debate on the modern was pursued in the context of expanding Vienna and creating a 'new' Vienna, this confrontation in 1898 remains the crucial instance of a general debate on modernity.

Neumann's lecture commences by recalling an earlier one almost twenty years previously to the association on 'Architectural endeavours of recent times' which, in the Historicist context of the late 1870s , supplied the Historicist conviction that 'the free utilization of earlier epochs of architecture signified a movement directed forwards and not, as a new academic opinion asserts, a fruitless beginning'.[211] In this Historicist period, the study of a whole range of earlier stylistic modes [Stylweisen] was possible (e.g. Friedrich von Schmidt and the rediscovery of the German Renaissance), indeed made possible by the 'perfection of the reproduction of artistic works by means of photography and its application'. Neumann maintains that this Historicist programme in Vienna was confined to 'the middle ages on the one side - and classical art and renaissance on the other', a programme which nonetheless was made 'to correspond to the views of the time, climatic requirements and the characteristic features of our people'.

In this period, architects were intent on creating 'modern works....although this was not dominated by such intolerance as is exercised today against the adherent to the old tradition on the part of the leader and younger members of the modern school'.[212] Similarly, just as then 'Vienna's monumental buildings unmistakably bear the stamp of the city and reveal the distinctive features of its inhabitants', so for Neumann these Historicist monumental structures are 'much more modern than those attempts emerging under the flag of the new art. I mean that our monumental buildings stand much less in contrast to human beings and climate than do their rivals of today' [213]. Indeed, as far as the

interpretation and goals of the Ringstrasse architects are concerned, 'we find no basic divergence between that which the modern school characterises as its programme, but a divergence however with the latter as to how they are to carry it out'.

With respect to the modern school, Neumann fails to understand why 'the domestic art' of 'our country' is cast aside in favour of the 'constructively undeveloped architecture of preclassical peoples'. More generally, modern architecture should not be confused with what is fashionable:

> Certainly our buildings should appear modern, even though in a conditional sense and not in the changing manner in which clothes and hats are presented as fashion. Further, our works do not serve the fleeting uses of coats or skirts and breeches'. [214]

After a digression on iron construction (which should have an aesthetic effect similar to timber construction), Neumann returns to his main theme to claim that a new modern mode of building can be most readily achieved by recourse to the Baroque and the examples of 'our home art' (I.16).

It is the task of architecture to serve 'the diverse ramifications of the demands of our cultural and social life'. These demands and Neumann's selection from them are instructive. They comprise the need for,

> 'monumental buildings that serve public purposes, the needs of the dwelling from the palace and castle, from metropolitan dwelling to the country dwelling place; the tasks which worship places upon us, the building of churches and place of worship of all confessions and finally the other facilities for commerce and transport'. [215]

The implicit hierarchy in this list from monumental public buildings, palaces and castles, urban and rural dwellings, churches and 'the other' [sonstig] facilities for commerce and transport reveals a conception of modern society that may in large part be rooted in the dominant social and political ideology of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, predominantly rural, agricultural and politically still dominated by feudal strata for whom industry and

v. Neumann: Wohn- und Geschäftshaus I.16 (1897)

commerce is an 'other' world. This hierarchy is only confirmed by Neumann's choice of examples from this list: 'I select merely two needs, churches and country houses'. [216] In both instances, Neumann's plea is for both building types to be constructed on the basis of pre-existing models of 'home' traditions. A Christian church should not have recourse to Egyptian or Indian models, a synagogue should be in its traditional style ('to introduce a special kind of style for the temple structure is to my mind a form of unconscious antisemitism') and the country house 'which bears the label "modern"' only appears 'grotesque'.

With regard to the applied arts, which are intimately connected with architecture and its development, it is the desire for what is new which drives its progress: 'Furniture and implements follow changing needs all the faster, the easier is their creation, the lower is their price and thus they are subject to that which we term fashion'. [217] Historically, Neumann views the blossoming of the applied arts in conjunction with architecture in the major phase of the Ringstrasse development and laments many of their recent developments. Finally, with respect to both architecture and the applied arts, Neumann recommends greater state support, even a central commission to regular development as in the case of trade, commerce and the railways.

This by no means dramatic lecture on 3rd December 1898 generated an extensive and heated discussion after the lecture and then at the meetings of the Association on the 17th December, 9th January 1899 and 23rd January 1899. Neumann then gave one of the addresses to the Association on 4th February 1899 celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Association's existence. The title of this address 'Vienna's building history in the years 1848-1898' does not appear to have generated debate. [218]

However, the discussion of modernity is our present concern. The first discussant, Theodor Reuter draws attention to the validity of Friedrich Schmidt's motto - and Schmidt

was extensively praised in Neumann's lecture - accompanying his plans for the Vienna parliament building "Saxa loquuntur" (The stones speak), and comments that 'the observation of our modern building structures also indicates the appropriateness of the words of this motto. The character of our times, the strivings of human beings to appear more than they are is manifestly expressed in modern building structures'. [219] Reuter sees this as the reason why in almost all modern public buildings 'architects devote particular attention exclusively to the spaces of representation, that are themselves hardly utilized, whereas the remaining spaces or rooms that exclusively serve the real purposes of the building appear neglected in an almost incomprehensible, often irresponsible manner'.

This critique of the inside/outside relationship is pursued further with respect to the Viennese apartment block (I.17), where the

> mismatch between the external appearance of the building and the inner divisions corresponding to its purpose is most crass...The architects unfortunately surpass one another in forming the facades of the dwelling block in order to deceive their observer, to create the impression to the lay person that he is viewing a palace. However, the internal installation of this building reveals that for its arrangement only the achievement of the greatest possible profit was the standard sought after and, in addition, to the limits, and often beyond them of what was permitted, without any concern that hereby the highest good of our fellow human beings, their health, would be damaged. [220]

This preoccupation with the external (in effect a preoccupation with the circulation of urban capital, though Reuter does not make this point) is confirmed in the competition for the square and space around the Karlskirche (a regulation debate that was to continue for several decades) since the terms of the competition were such as to focus upon plans for monumental 'interest barracks' [Zinskasernen] whose purpose was again profit maximisation.

It is under such circumstances that young architects react against this preoccupation with facades and external appearances 'in favour of functionality [Zweckmässigkeit]'.

Apartments c. 1899 I.17

WOHNHÄUSER IN WIEN—PRATER

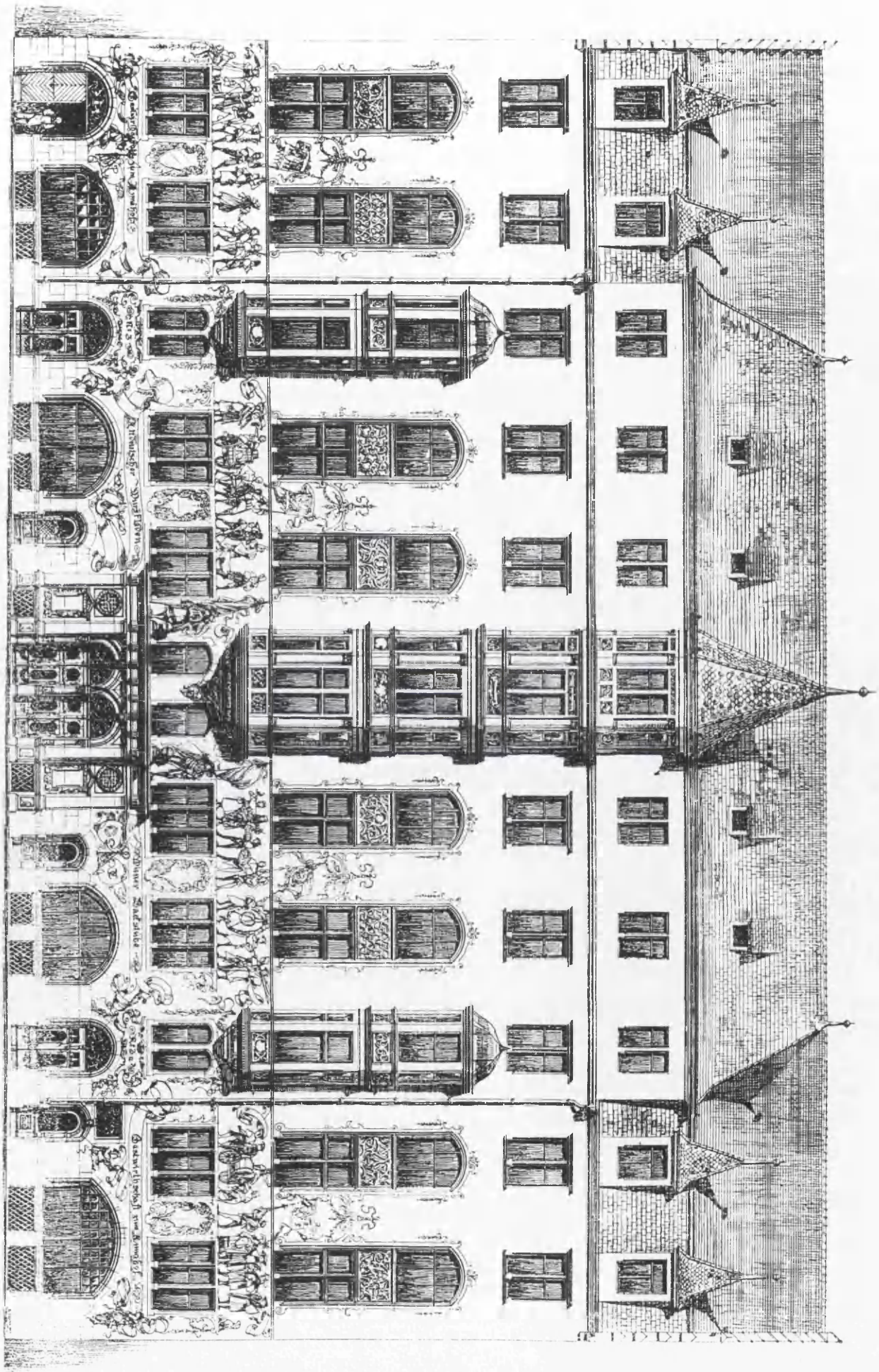
Whatever excesses they might display this younger generation of architects should be supported. 'Go forth on the path you have begun; to you belongs the future!' is Reuter's final statement.

Helmer concurs with Neumann's choice of 'local Baroque' as the most appropriate modern style since 'this stylistic current best expresses our people's character [Volkscharakter]'. [221](I.18) Yet without recognizing any contradiction between this predilection for Baroque and the city railway, designed by Wagner, Helmer goes on to praise the station buildings - although much of the elevated railway should have been constructed with iron - since 'they made a welcoming impression and integrate very well into our street image'. However, the city railway, which will be massively utilized over the years, was built too cheaply with its plaster surfacing on the buildings. Especially unfortunate is the white colour of the plastering which could withstand electric but not steam locomotives. Finally, with respect to the Secession movement, Helmer notes that 'we can notice already in the applied arts and in modern sculpture a certain chastening, but this is not to be found in Secessionist architecture'. If the Secessionist tendency were to continue then it would corrupt rather than educate the artistic public and be an unfortunate development for 'the future architectural shaping of Vienna'. [222]

The Secession movement is also viewed by Lenz as deplorable, indeed 'it seems as if the Secessionist tendency has reached epidemic proportions, which I take to be dangerous for it damages the reputation of our city'. With regard to the actual Secession building itself (I.19), Lenz declares that

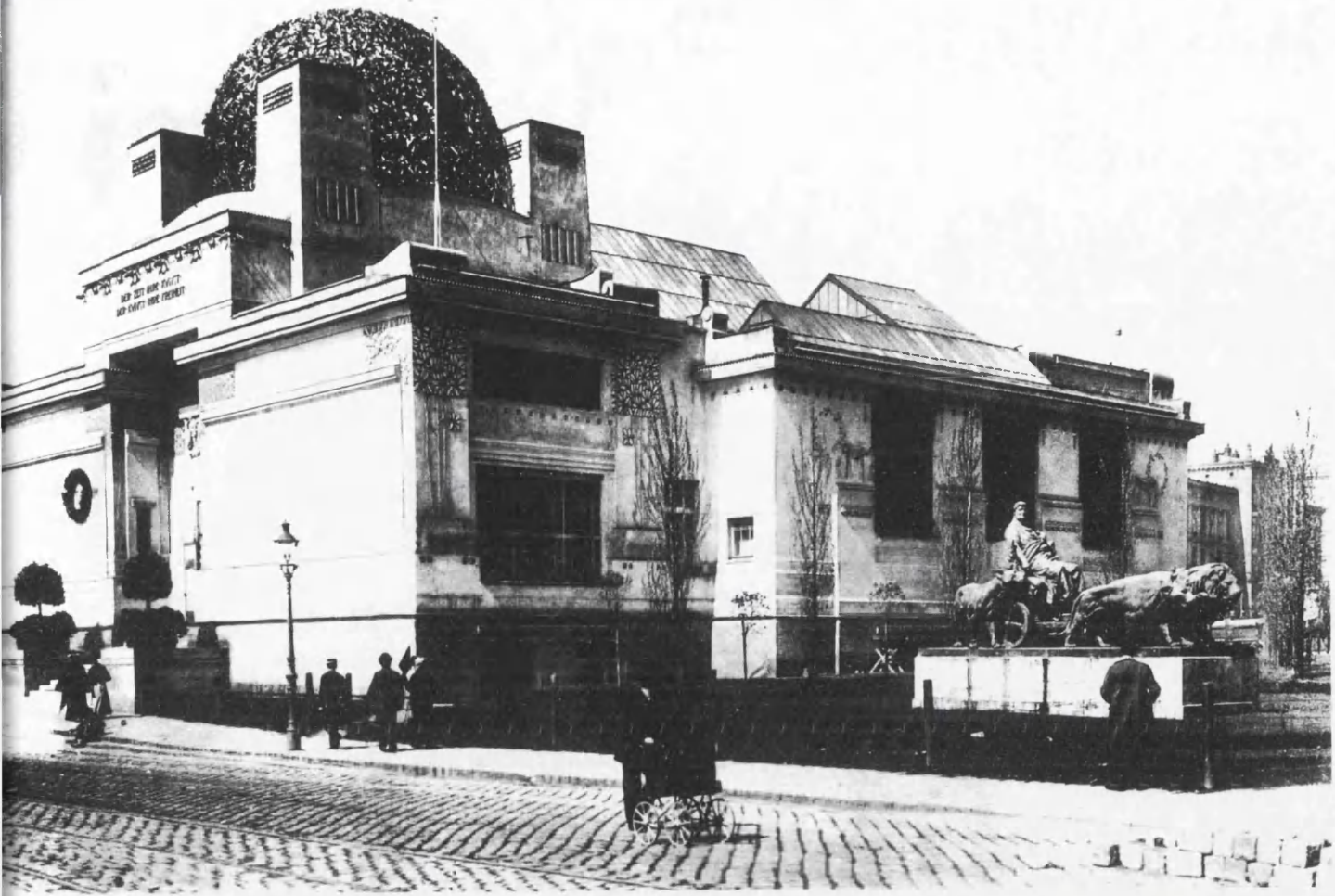
> 'if someone comes from the Ringstrasse and views the building from the rear then it is of course totally impossible that the person could guess that this building is a temple of art; one would probably rather take it for a stand in the Prater where exotic animals are displayed'. [223]

Fellner + Helmer: Annahof I. 18

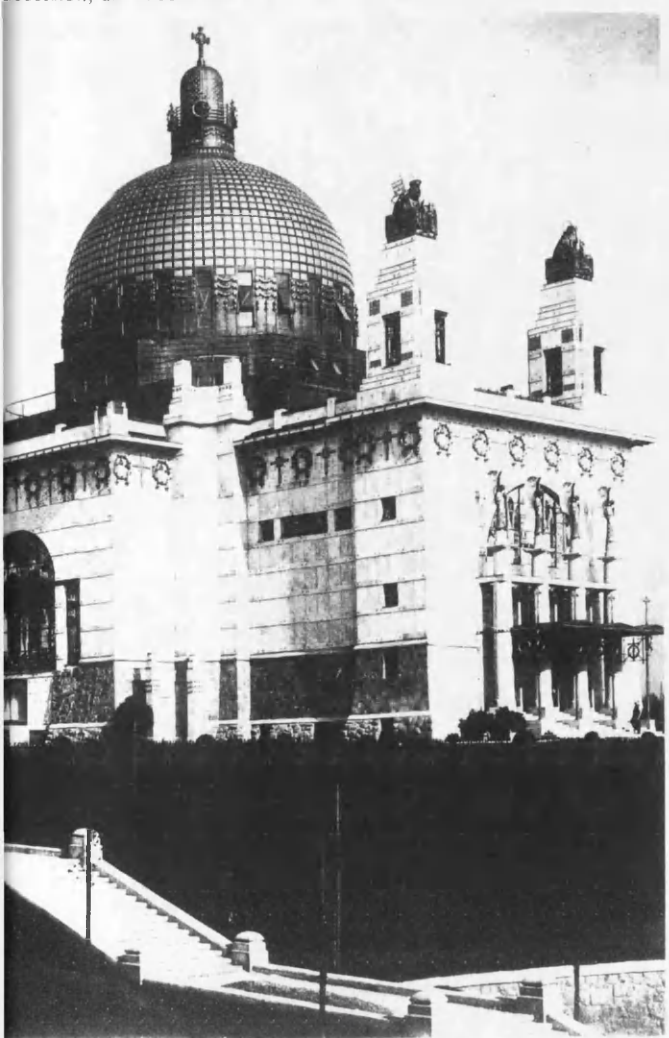


„Annahof", Wien, Annagasse 3 – Architekten Fellner und Helmer

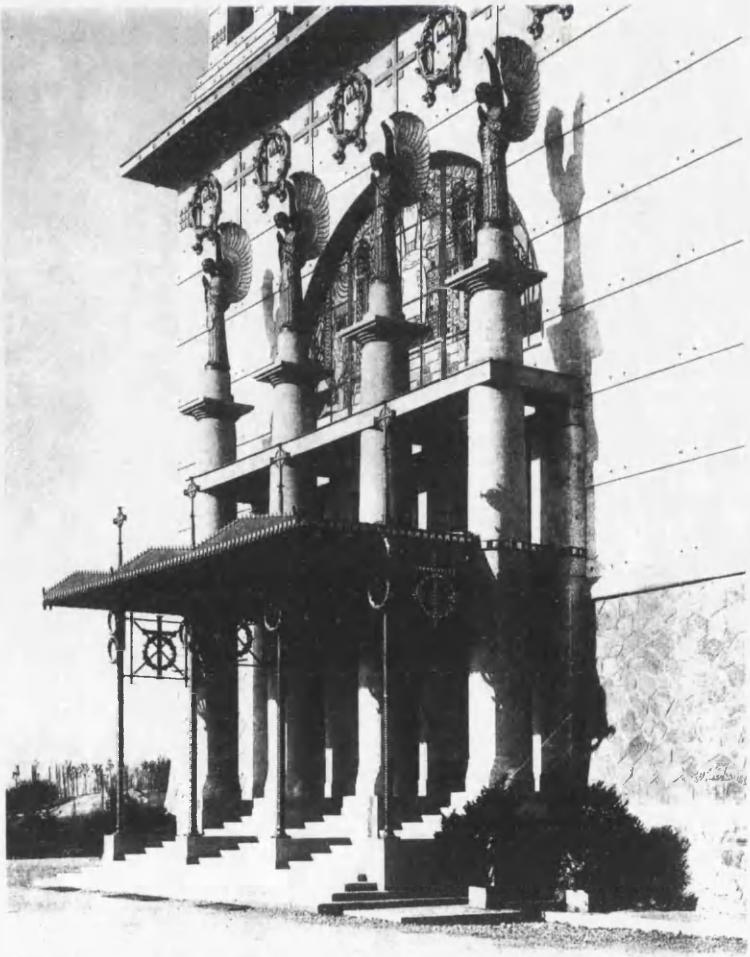
Above: Secession / Below: Am Steinhof I.19



Secession, um 1900



Leopoldkirche Am Steinhof – Gesamtansicht, 1907



74 Die Leopoldkirche Am Steinhof – Portal, 1907

The response to this and other Secessionist excesses is that a 'chief surveyor of buildings' be established in the upper house of the parliament. This constraining bureaucratic process is necessary since

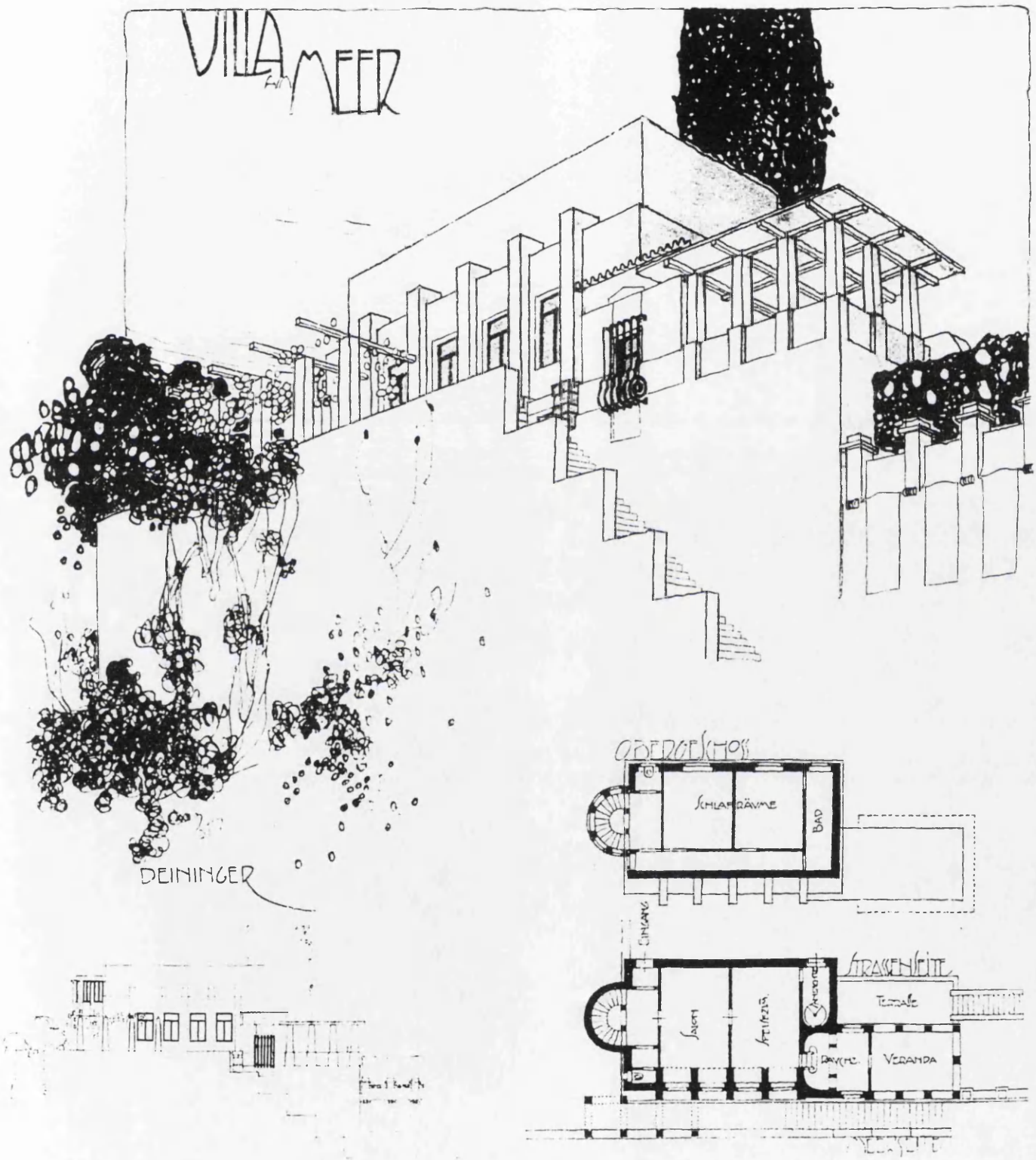
> 'instead of architects teaching through the beauty of their buildings, and having an artistically educating impact, the public is perplexed by Secessionist buildings. What kind of concept of beauty, for instance, is the public to receive if one shows the public such buildings in public streets; therefore we must fight this current direction'. [224]

Lenz's is not alone in this and subsequent periods in Vienna in calling for direction from above. The regulation of public taste where the public has been shown perplexing or confusing structures in public streets and places is an additional element in the regulation [Regulierung] of the city in the broadest sense.

The issue of modernity and architecture in Vienna in the period immediately succeeding the founding of the Secession constitutes for many of its opponents an identification of modernity with Secessionism. During the debate on Neumann's lecture, one of the Association's members, Pelser-Berensberg declares that since 'the Vienna city railway and the Jubilee Exhibition [of 1898] have demonstrated how this [Secessionist] style is increasingly gaining ground amongst architects', members of the Association should complete a questionnaire on 'the position of the Association viz-a-vis the modern direction in architecture and the applied arts'. In the course of the debate this was rejected.

However, the debate returned to the issue of modernity more pointedly and more forcefully with the extensive contribution from Julius Deininger (whose son Wunibald entered the Wagner School in 1899) (I.20). Deininger strongly opposes Lenz's recommendation for 'a kind of censorship authority' in architecture, and the questionnaire on modernity as merely a recording of diverse opinions that cannot rule on a new artistic

Villa: Wunibald Deininger (1904) I.20



10 Wunibald Deininger: Villa am Meer, Entwurf aus der Wagnerschule, 1904

movement by majority decision. Rather the issues should be openly contested and debated, including those, like himself, who wish to express 'a word for "modernity"'. [225]

On the relationship between modernity and fashion, Deininger argues that just as there are eternal laws of nature, whilst at the same time, nature is in a state of eternal change, and can be conceived of as eternal transformation, so similarly in the realms of art 'those who sin against the laws of nature and the laws of art are precisely those who wish to arm themselves with the patent of immortality in a particular style, direction or, however classical it might be'. [226] Deininger is therefore opposed to those who maintain that there is no relationship between art and fashion. It does appear as if there should be no relationship between the two since 'if one speaks of a fashion, then one thinks first of all of the tailor, that is, of clothing fashion, and for our sensitive aestheticians there already lies in this association of ideas a brutal disparagement of divine art'. However, art is subject to fashion and art too 'wears at one time broad and then later narrow sleeves again, except that these changes are distributed across large time periods'. More significantly, however,

> in fashion in clothing, parallel with the fluctuations in merely external transformations, whose origin is largely due to the general human need for change, there is present a second, constant striving that is directed towards adapting clothing to the gradual changing needs and activities of human beings and that, from this standpoint, almost every new fashion also signifies a new progress. Yes and have we, especially we, who live in the second half of the nineteenth century, any right at all to put on airs and to speak about the reprehensibility of fashion in art, after we have been striving for half a century to bring all kinds of old art forms again into "fashion"? [227]

Thus, for Deininger, the eclectic fashionable sequence of the Historicist period 'was the genuine "fashion epoch" in art'.

In contrast, the newest or 'most modern movement' seeks to rid itself of 'the whole of this old decorative rubbish ', or at least to treat it as being of secondary importance and to turn to

> 'creating for us a clothing that, above all, suits us. And with regard to "suiting", are we not in fact best served by that which concerns our metropolitan everyday dress, the exterior and interior of our rental apartment blocks, as well as all those building structures that should suffice for our everyday needs. [228]

And in order to illustrate further present day needs, Deininger highlights a number of building types and interiors already mentioned in the discussion.

With regard to church buildings, Deininger maintains that their purpose has not dramatically changed over the centuries and whether it is best expressed in the style of the Middle Ages, Baroque or another style remains an open question. The same cannot be said for the modern metropolitan dwelling house block which does not have affinities with earlier structures. For 'the "rental barracks" [Zinskaserne] just like the modern "commercial block" [Geschäftshaus] is a totally newly emergent individual entity', which has often been given a monumental character, a palace-like facade, inappropriate ornamentation, and so on. Here facades are not merely reserved for exteriors since, in internal decoration, 'we see the same drama, [in which] the vestibule and staircase of many rental apartment blocks, cafes and bars are adorned with motifs that are derived from Roman imperial palaces, the luxurious salons of the Vatican and other palaces of the Rennaissance period'. The situation is not much better with regard to country houses 'for here too megalomania predominates: each cottage is transformed into a villa, each villa into a castle'. Drawing on an image to be found in Wagner's work and that of Loos, Deininger indicates parallels in modern adaption to architectural space: 'just as in the villas and castles the city dweller appears in the country, often in full evening dress, so he enters the farmhouse with his loden cloak and naked knees. In turn this is not to everyone's taste and thus opens up once more scope for a modern form of the dwelling house in the country, as the English have long ago discovered'. [229]

But without disparaging the valuable work of previous talented architects, Deininger sees the search for an architectural expression of modern life as being increasingly active, indeed as a search that commenced twenty years ago in the other arts, except that in architecture fewer were convinced that a 'new art' was possible and desirable. Deininger discerns three responses to this search for a new architecture: that of the 'conservatives', the 'friends of progress' and the 'radicals'. The conservatives regard the old historical styles (especially 'Viennese Baroque') as capable of being developed further. Deininger views the Baroque as a style that, like an organism, has already been fully developed and overlived its time and is now merely reproduced in more or less good copies. A 'further development' is not possible. The friends of progress [Fortschrittsfreunde] hope to transform the character of historical styles by the introduction of new constructions and materials such as iron in the hope that this might constitute the foundation for a 'further development'. However, it is only the third group of architects - the 'radicals' - 'who really earn the name of the "moderns"'. [230] This group has many varied elements extending to those whom its opponents term anarchist, 'for they deny all authorities, and if it must be, God and the world too, ie. Greek and Roman antiquity. They are the real revolutionaries, challenging even the architrave construction and taking up preclassical models from Assyrian, Phonecian or Egyptian structures.

Of the modernists, it is 'Wagner and his school [who] stand quite close to this extreme wing'. Wagner, 'aside from the formal elements, lays a major emphasis upon a good idea of construction, a meticulous choice of materials and great precision and integrity in the execution'. The majority of Wagner's projects have been successful and have had the approval of the public. This is not the case of the Secession building designed by Wagner's student Olbrich. Deininger's critique of this structure is largely that it fails to follow Wagner's emphasis upon construction, indeed in some aspects such as the covering

above the entrance 'a complete ignoring of construction' is evident. Nonetheless, despite his criticisms, Deininger maintains that the Secession building

> 'is in no way a blemish in the streetscape of Vienna and indeed even possesses a cultural historical value for it is a monument to independent artistic thought. And independent thought precisely here in Vienna deserves a monument, since here it is one of the greatest rareties...Vienna is a major location for coining slogans and good bonmot. Public opinion then forms itself around both. Our public takes itself to be much too discerning and city wise to make the effort of understanding a work of art that does not look like a dozen others'. [231]

Vienna is little better served by professional critics, least of all in the field of architecture. Its most prominent critic, Hermann Bahr, is a literary critic who has waxed overeloquently upon the Secession building rather than having produced a critique of it.

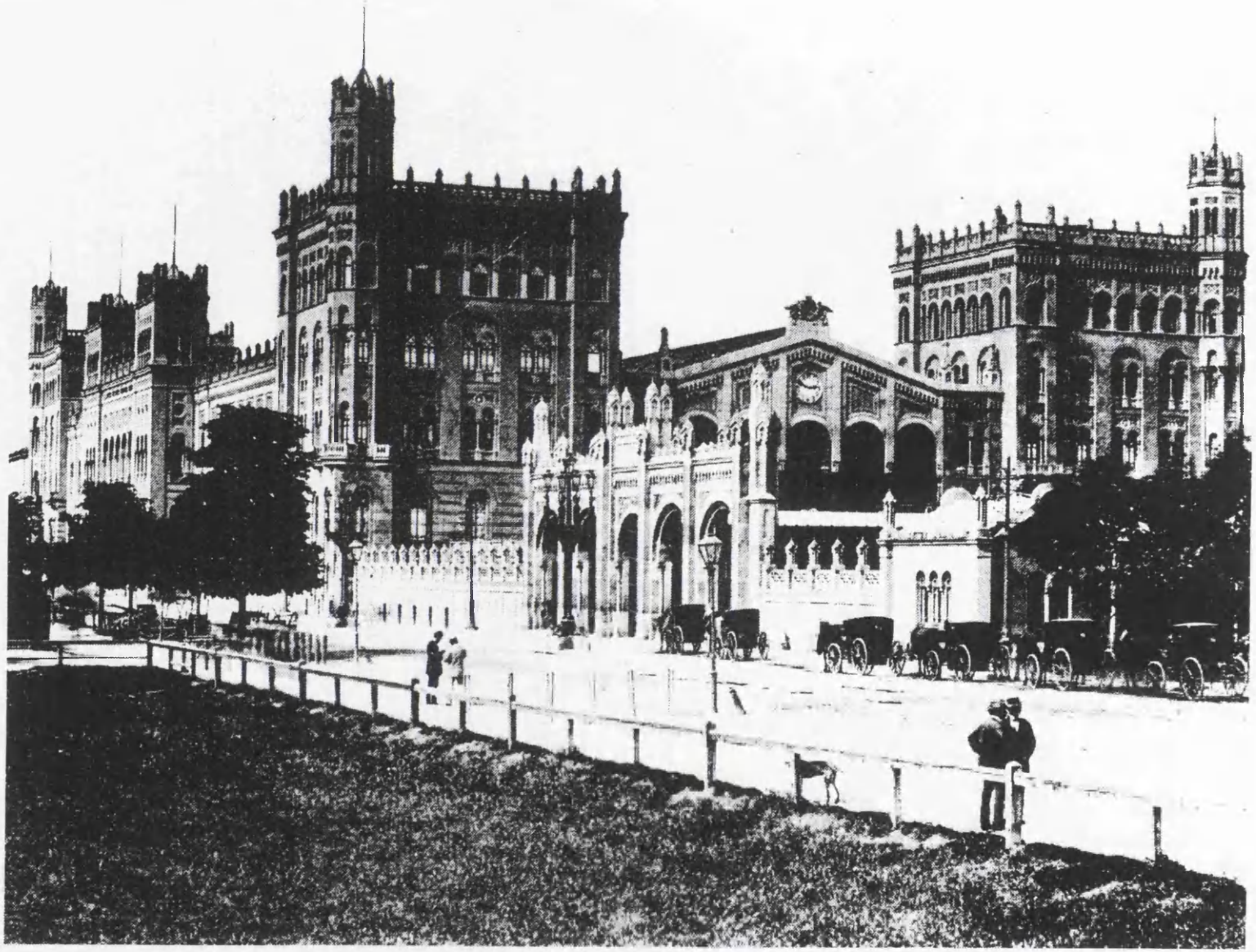
In this context, it is worth noting that Deininger is the only commentator in the discussion to recognize that any consistent theory of modernity is simultaneously a critique of modernity. At all events, he is convinced that 'the modern movement in architecture is at last revolutionary and a revolutionary movement requires a struggle. Turmoil is its life element, and nothing is more dangerous for it than deadening indifference....Perhaps Vienna is called upon to play once more a leading role in the realm of architecture'. [232]

That we are approaching a new epoch is also attested to by Theodor Bach's contribution with its emphasis upon modern requirements in architecture arising out of new technologies of steam, electricity and the transcendence of spatial distances. How these modern requirements are to be satisfied is conditioned by the struggle between 'the art of tradition' and 'the art of the future' that manifests itself in 'the deadly boredom of our suburbs', the destruction of valuable old buildings in the centre of the city, the creation of modern squares with contradictory intentions of their individual elements and the lack of a unifying concept, 'a big idea'. The deleterious consequences of poor building are attributed by Bach to the ill trained members of the modern movement itself:

> Whoever today can do nothing...goes today over to the modernists. Under the cloak of originality [they create]...their unintelligible and undigested artistic products..and it is they who primarily bring modernism into discredit. [233]

These 'artistic pirates' produce an 'immeasurable damage' to the beauty of the city under the name of freedom that is actually 'boundlessness', and liberality that is 'the promotion of anarchy'. A genuine modernity can only be striven for if we recognise under modernity the longing for something new, for something that is not already there'. Under these conditions, therefore, 'there is nothing more modern for our public promotion of art than a big idea', one that represents 'the ideal of beauty'. In passing, it is worth noting here that the longing for a 'big idea' was not confined to the architectural sphere, but existed more problematically in the political sphere as satirized by Robert Musil in The Man Without Qualities. [234]

The need for a historical perspective on modernity is indirectly called for by Camillo Sitte who reflects upon the debates in the Association fifty years earlier after its foundation in 1848. [235] It was 'a time that was moved in the same way and in the same sense as today and from the same roots', with its call for 'a new style, for a style of our times'. The call for 'a new style of the future' produced, however, 'what has later been characterised as eclecticism. The most famous monument of this period is the Northern Railway Station [Nordbahnhof], which is constructed from 20% Baroque, 20% Renaissance, 20% Gothic, 20% Romanesque and 20% Naturalism'. [236] (I.21) As a counter to this eclecticism, there emerged the dogma in the 1860's onwards of 'the purity of style', such that each style was 'brought into life' once more. In Sitte's view, the present day is once more a period of eclecticism and again with a call for 'a new style of our times'. The difference is perhaps that 'at the end of the 1840's the new style succeeded as a countermovement to the fossilization of the period of the building official [Baurathzeit], whereas today in contrast



166 Der Nordbahnhof, um 1875

Nordbahnhof (c. 1875)

I. 21

the building official is wished for against the craziness of the new style'. What can be drawn from the experience of history is 'that precisely that which one represents as the new style, as the style of the future is not new'. [237] In this context, 'history teaches that precisely the slogans always repeat themselves and that the core of the blunder does not lie in the slogans as such, and that evenly the slogans are only journalistic and everyday phrases, whereas the inner worth lies in the industrious self sacrificing work and real talent'.

Sitte's historical reflections are followed by a further intervention from Lenz in support of a senior building official to prevent the excesses of the present. Lenz declares that he does 'not understand what the Secessionists really want....For me, as a lay person, the Secession is thus far actually only negation. [...]. The Secessionists should show us for once a beautiful example, and insofar as this is not the case they should stay at home'. [238] Deininger's reply to this charge is that the modern movement is at its point of naissance and not a completed movement: 'I do not believe that someone comes into the world as a 50 year old, and so the modern movement must also pass through its child illnesses'. [239]

In perhaps the only attempt to define modernity in this discussion, Ferdinand Berehinak argues that Neumann 'understands by modernity something totally different from today's broad public. The public understands by modernity not that period in which the Ringstrasse buildings were created...but, rather it understands by modernity [Moderne] that stylistic direction which has become noticeable since roughly the past 10-15 years and which is not to be confused with the concept of the modern [modern]'. [240] As an adjective, 'modern' refers to the architecture and applied arts of the past 50 years 'whereas for "modernity" [Moderne] the concept is in its emergence and we only grasp individual characteristics that decisively develop into a style which we characterise as modernist [Moderne]'. The modernist movement of the past 10-15 years 'possesses a certain global

character, is international with specific local nuances'. This 'international modern movement' [internationale Moderne] incorporates different elements in different countries. Since this new movement is only at the stage of its emergence, it would be premature to cast a decisive judgement upon it.

The question of the historical originality of the modern movement's major tendencies are questioned by Neumann who views the emphasis upon construction already prefigured by Semper and the replacement of pillars and pilaster by flat surfaces is anticipated by late Renaissance and Empire styles. From a similar perspective, Helmer questions the Secessionist rejection of all that has been built earlier in Vienna on the grounds that it 'rests upon false presuppositions and teaching methods'. Rather, Helmer contends that in the past 40 years 'individual artistic works in Vienna compares with the uniform London and Paris cultural schemes are better and appear more adapted and artistically stand on the same level as in these cities'.[241]

The contemporary state of modern architecture is the theme of Carl Mayreder's contribution to the debate. Mayreder acknowledges that the modern movement possesses a valuable dimension which lies in

> a healthy reaction against the "parvenue architecture", against all material surrogates and false characteristics; it lies in an effort towards artistic economy, in a striving to help surfaces gain their rightful place, to return from all too indifferent wealth to simplicity with well-balanced elements; finally in a striving not to be ashamed of construction, even the most modern one, indeed to make it as visible as possible. [242]

Such positive features are to be contrasted with modern architects' tendency to introduce 'preclassical motifs in architectonic experiments..without taking account of the location of their buildings'. For Mayreder, 'the object for the architectonic experiment up to now is constituted by temporary architecture, ie. architecture for festivals and exhibition buildings'. However, young modernists 'have now transplanted the base of the

architectonic experiment from the exhibition to the middle of the city'. In particular, Olbrich's Secession building is grounded in a 'misinterpreted individualism...For architectonic creations of lasting value have hitherto never been born out of the arbitrary viewpoint of a single individual' [243]. In short, this modernist tendency fails to concern itself with local colour, with where its experiments are located. Indeed, 'the majority of these buildings have no relationship to their Viennese environment, they are arbitrary experiments, that could just as easily be located in any other major city. They know nothing of the genius loci and hence they lack atmosphere, the inner relationship to their viewers'. [244]

IX

This overview of some of the main reflections on modernity and their relevance for the Viennese discourse on modernity has sought to demonstrate a number of theses. First, the crisis in Historicism in the 1880's produced unsystematic but nonetheless significant attempts to be beyond the debate on historically appropriate styles in architecture in the direction of posing the possibility of a modern architecture manifesting modern, practical needs. Second, the discussion of modernity in architecture, as several contemporaries pointed out, emerged relatively late in Vienna. Why this was so may be related to the continuing strength of the Historicist paradigm which could point to its impressive - if varied - success with the Ringstrasse development. Third, the significance of the Ringstrasse to Vienna's architectural discourse manifests itself in the claim, against the 'modern' architects of the 1890s, that it was an equally 'modern' project in the 1860's onwards. Neumann certainly asserts this against the new Secession movement in 1898. Four, after the Secession movement is formed in 1897 opposition to modernism in architecture becomes more apparent and, as Haiko has argued, more successful.

Therefore, it is not the case that by 1900 modernism is victorious in Vienna, as is assumed by Wagner and others. Finally, the struggle over modernity and modernism in the late 1890's becomes increasingly specific to Vienna in architectural discourse and debate and away from general discourse on style, etc. The genius loci therefore becomes the contested terrain. Therefore, it is to the possibility of Vienna as a 'new' 'modern' metropolis that we now turn.

CHAPTER TWO

The Modern Metropolis:

'New Vienna'

Why Vienna instead of an invented metropolis? Because it would have been more effort to invent one than a 'crossed out' Vienna.

Robert Musil

Notes for The Man Without Qualities

It is self evident that the 'genius loci' must be taken into account, which is the reason why predominantly Viennese circumstances are covered.

Otto Wagner (1895)

The aroma of what is decaying [des Modernden] is sweet and dangerous in this city.

Hans Tietze, Wien (1931)

I

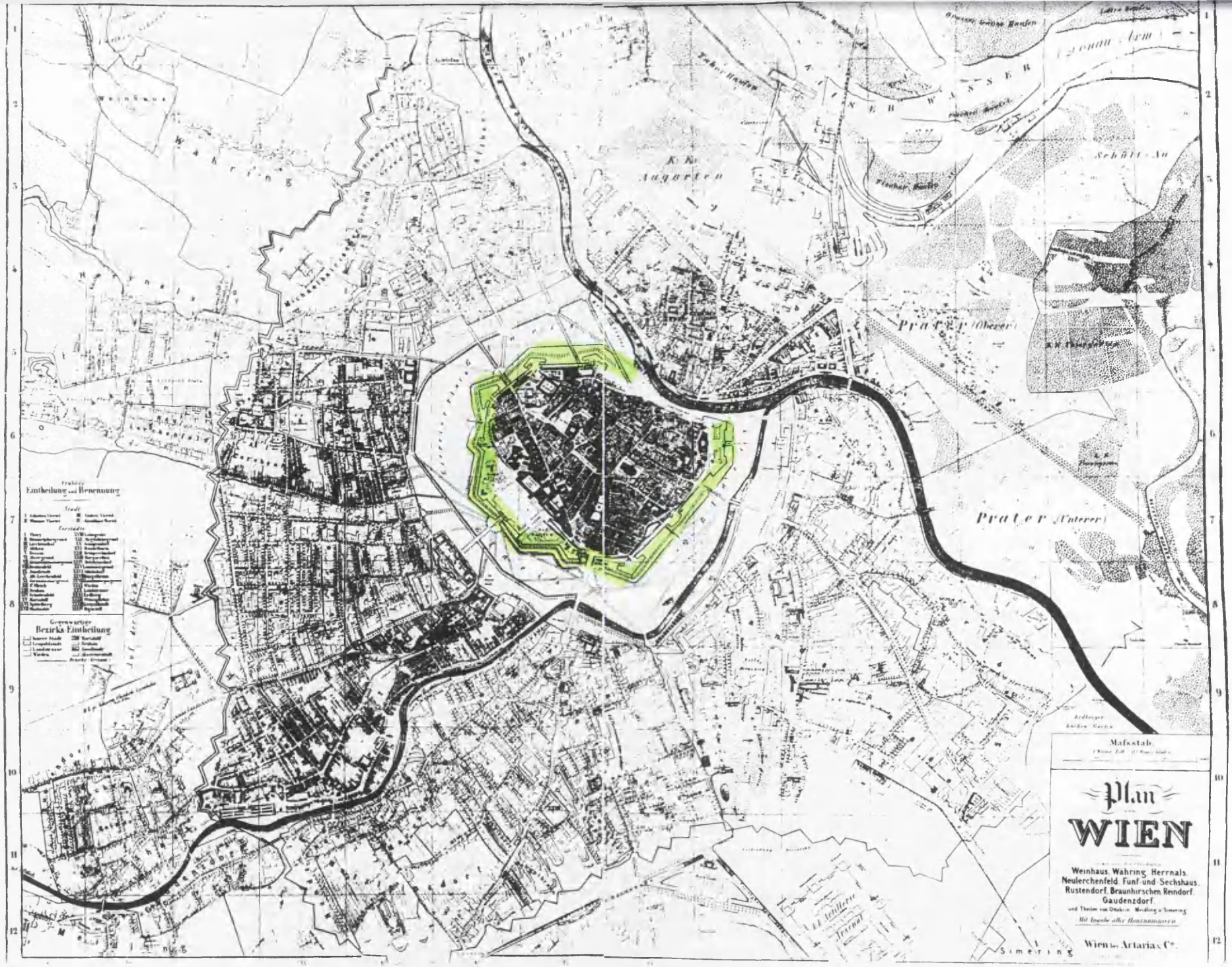
In his short monograph, Die Grossstadt (1911), Wagner declares that his reflections on the metropolis are of a general nature and are not directed towards a specific city. However, the three illustrations which it contains are all of Vienna. This is not surprising since some of his reflections are elaborations of earlier works on Vienna and his Moderne Architektur. What is significant is that in all these reflections, the development and expansion of the modern metropolis plays a central role. Since the modern metropolis which is most often cited is obviously Vienna, it is fruitful to examine the development of this modern metropolis in the period in which Wagner is working there. In particular, the two crucial phases of, first, the expansion of Vienna after 1857 and the development of the Ringstrasse zone and, second, the extension of Vienna after 1890, together with debates relevant to these enlargements of the city will be examined.

In addition, there are other features of the expansion of the city which should be highlighted. First, the manner in which the expansion of the city into a new and modern

metropolis was undertaken reveals claims to modernity in both the first (post 1857) (I.22) and second (post 1890) (I.23) phases. Second, the post 1890 extension of the city coincides with the expansion of a relatively new discipline (Städtebau (literally city building) and a heated debate on important dimensions of city planning. Third, this new discipline concerns itself with the aesthetic and practical aspects of the urban life form. Insofar as it crucially seeks to transform the lived environment of the city, its streets, its parks, its dwellings and its whole infrastructure and systematizes knowledge of this built environment, it should also be seen as an important contribution to metropolitan modernity.

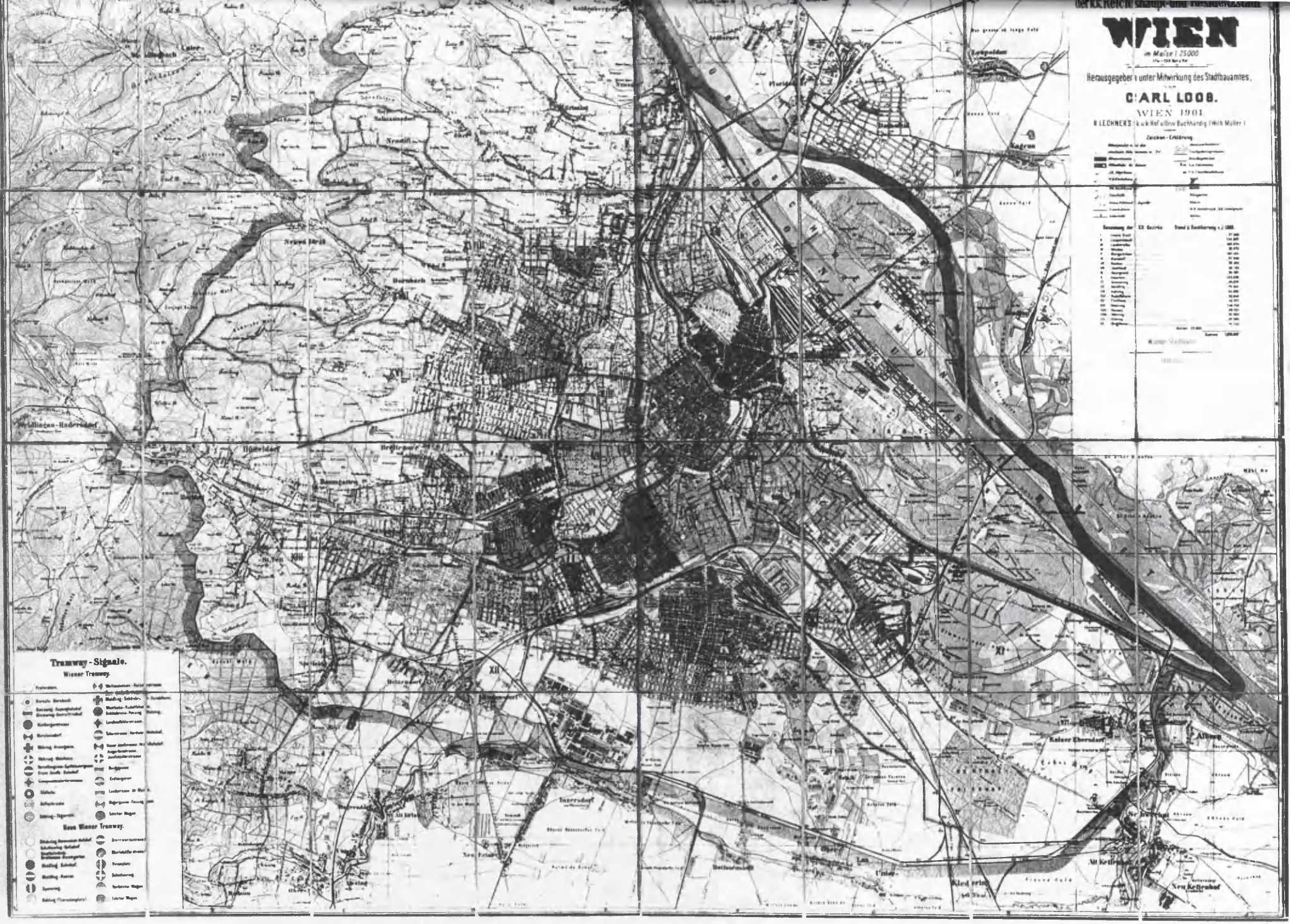
If we regard the city as a text that can be read, in principle, and if we take a central aspect of the study of modernity to be an examination of the modes of experiencing that which is new in modern society, then the development of Städtebau as a body of knowledge, analysis and reflection (both practical and aesthetic) should not be viewed merely as abstract city planning discourse but also as a discourse whose implementation fundamentally changes our modes of experiencing the modern metropolis.

The physical layout of streets and squares influences our bodily motion along and across them. The wealth of street furniture from advertising boardings, traffic signals and lighting to postboxes, waiting stands, kiosks and lavatories all require to be read and used in specific ways. The massive interventions beneath the surface in sewage systems, water supply, gas and later communication systems not merely made a vital contribution to public hygiene, comfort and access but had a fascination in the second half of the nineteenth century - as the underground world, the nether world - that encouraged their own tourist attractions. The streets themselves - at least their grandest versions - were often opened in sections as they were completed with elaborate ceremonies as befitted monuments (this was the case with Haussmann's grandest projects in Paris). The street, its traffic and its populace required to be read in new ways, long before we were asked to learn from Las



Vienna c. 1850

I.22


WIEN
im Maßstabe 1:25000
Herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung des Stadtbauamtes.
CARL LOOS.
WIEN 1901.
R. LECHNER'S (k.u.k. Hof- u. Univ. Buchhandlg. Wilh. Müller)
Zeichen-Erklärung
Tramway-Signale.
Wiener Tramway.
Neue Wiener Tramway.
Hietzing
Meidling
Penzing
Hernals
Währing
Döbling
Döbling (Cottagelinie)
Nußdorf
Heiligenstadt
Floridsdorf
Brigittenau
Leopoldstadt
Landstraße
Wieden
Margarethen
Mariahilf
Neubau
Josefstadt
Alsergrund
Favoriten
Simmering
Meidling-Schönbrunn
Hietzing-Schönbrunn
Hietzing-Kahlenbergerdorf
Penzing-Hütteldorf
Hernals-Dornbach
Währing-Gersthof
Währing-Pötzleinsdorf
Währing-Weinhaus
Döbling-Heiligenstadt
Nußdorf-Heiligenstadt
Nußdorf-Grinzing
Nußdorf-Sievering
Döbling-Cottagelinie
Heiligenstadt-Floridsdorf
Floridsdorf-Stadlau
Floridsdorf-Kagran
Floridsdorf-Aspern
Brigittenau-Nußdorf
Brigittenau-Floridsdorf
Brigittenau-Kaiserebersdorf
Leopoldstadt-Prater
Leopoldstadt-Kaiserebersdorf
Landstraße-Prater
Landstraße-Kaiserebersdorf
Landstraße-Simmering
Landstraße-Favoriten
Wieden-Favoriten
Margarethen-Favoriten
Mariahilf-Favoriten
Neubau-Favoriten
Josefstadt-Favoriten
Alsergrund-Favoriten
Alsergrund-Währing
Alsergrund-Döbling
Alsergrund-Heiligenstadt
Alsergrund-Nußdorf
Alsergrund-Grinzing
Alsergrund-Sievering
Alsergrund-Floridsdorf
Alsergrund-Kaiserebersdorf
Alsergrund-Simmering
Alsergrund-Favoriten
Alsergrund-Meidling
Alsergrund-Hietzing
Alsergrund-Penzing
Alsergrund-Hernals

Vegas and be impressed by the plethora of street furniture in the late twentieth century. The transformation of the city in the late nineteenth century may just as significantly have affected all our senses and our bodily orientation and not merely our image of the modern metropolis.

II

The notion of a 'new' Vienna with respect to a new configuration of the city in the nineteenth century may be traced back to the Imperial Decree of December 1857 in which the Emperor consented to the destruction of the old fortifications of the city and, in effect, the unification of the old inner city core with the expanding suburbs outwith the fortifications.[1] A crucial dimension of the 'new' Vienna was to be formed by the utilization of the substantial tracts of land which thus lay between the old city centre and the sub-urban areas surrounding it. The competition for development plans for this considerable tract of land was to result in the subsequent construction of the Ringstrasse zone around a large part of the old city centre and the accompanying economic utilization of the substantial surrounding area.[2]

The very concept of a 'new' Vienna, that would compete with other major European capitals, was to be given a new poignancy by the fortunes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, especially, its army's military defeat by Prussia at Königgrätz in 1866, the separation of the Austrian and Hungarian crown lands with the formation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867 (and for some decades subsequently the more rapid growth of Budapest, now a capital city in its own right, compared with Vienna), the financially unsuccessful World Exhibition of 1873 in Vienna and, in the same month, the collapse of the Stock Exchange, inaugurating the depression of the 1870s.[3] Nonetheless, the fact that

the Ringstrasse development was largely complete by 1890 (I.24) testified to the intensive, though sometimes intermittent, building activities since the 1860s and into the 1880s, when effectively the discourse on the 'new Vienna' came to take shape in architectural and other circles. From the early 1880s onwards, both in contemporary guides and other surveys, and in architectural journals such as the Allgemeine Bauzeitung, discussion of the structure and features of the new Vienna intensified.[4]

If the concept of a 'new Vienna' was already being signalled in architectural and other discourses in the early 1880's and was at that time associated with the completion of major phases of the Ringstrasse zone developments, then the announcement a decade later of a 'new', new Vienna - what Feldegg termed 'Vienna's second Renaissance',[5] the first being the Ringstrasse zone development - was associated with the debate on modernity and, more especially, the expansion of the city in the early 1890s and plans for aspects of this extension throughout the decade and beyond. These two phases are indicated, for instance, by the editor of the Allgemeine Bauzeitung, August Köstlin with his article written in the autumn of 1882 on 'The New Vienna' [Das neue Wien],[6] and subsequent article of the same title in 1885 referring to 'New-Vienna' [Neu-Wien][7] and Ludwig Hevesi's article in the spring of 1895 on 'Old Vienna- New Vienna' [Altwien - Neuwien][8] drawing attention to the contrast between the old city centre and the new developments of the 1890s.

Thus, just as in contemporary discussions of modernity in Vienna there were those, as we have seen, who associated modern Vienna with the Ringstrasse development (down to the 1880s)and those who identified modernity with the modern movement in architecture (and the other arts) in the 1890s, so too the discourse on a new Vienna exhibits a similar disparity. One reading of these two discourses is, in fact, to see them as actually a single expanding discussion of new Vienna from the early 1880s (if not earlier) onwards down to

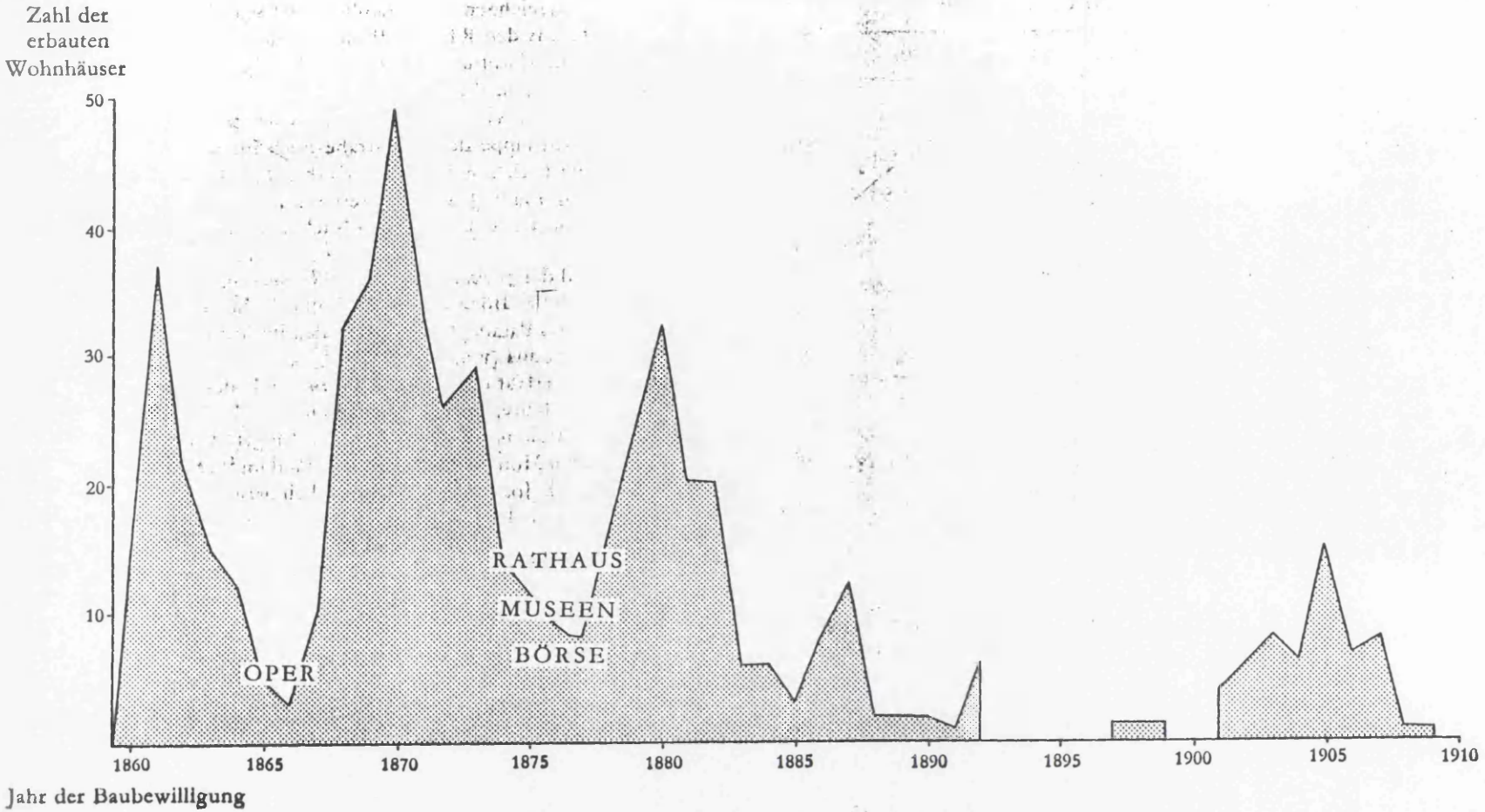


Fig. 1 Die Wohnbautätigkeit im Ringstraßenbereich 1859—1909

Dwelling blocks in Ringstrasse Zone: 1859-1909 I. 24

the First World War and succeeded by a 'new' discourse on the 'new Vienna' of the 1920's (associated with public sector developments, especially in housing).[9] The modernists of the 1890's, as with all avant-garde movements, by contrast, insisted upon a radical break with the Ringstrasse development.

But were there any new developments in the early 1890's which would justify such a separation? The extension of the city in the early 1890's, and the competitions ... plans and debates for its regulation, is certainly of significance and will be examined below. A further important factor must be the emergence of a new discourse literally on 'building cities' [Städtebau] which, though it did not originate in Vienna, received a vital new impetus with the publication of Camillo Sitte's Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen [City Planning According to Artistic Principles] in Vienna in 1889 [10] and, from a different standpoint, the publication of Joseph Stübben's Der Städtebau in Darmstadt in 1890.[11] The significance of these two publications, the one emphasizing the aesthetic dimensions of urban planning and referencing Vienna extensively, and the other serving as an extensive compendium of urban infrastructural development, lies in the fact that they inaugurate a new discourse upon the nature of the city itself.[12] The features of any putative 'new' city are to be seen in the context of an ostensibly new conception of the 'city'. In the framework of our present discussion, Sitte's work is highly pertinent to both the shaping of debate on the new Vienna and to the persistent critique of Wagner's Modernist position. Thus, the general significance of Sitte's volume on city planning must be augmented by his extensive and often neglected critiques of contemporary developments in Vienna up to his death in 1904.[13] Similarly, the general importance and impact of Stübben's volume must be supplemented by his participation in the debate surrounding Sitte's work of 1889 (and including its ostensibly obscure focus around a debate on straight or curved streets) and by the fact that Stübben and Wagner were the two joint winners of

the competition for outlining a General Regulation Plan for Vienna in 1894.[14] In addition, despite the explicit focus upon aesthetic dimensions, the level of detail and orientation in Wagner's submission to this competition is closer to Stübben's than to the parameters of Sitte's discussion of modern systems of city planning.

Thus, the exploration of 'new Vienna' as a modern metropolis requiring a new modern architecture cannot be confined merely to the emergence of a new architecture in a narrow sense of buildings. A new Vienna was predicted upon an expanding city, the extension of the city boundaries and plans for their development and regulation. In turn, this 'new' city was created in the context of the old city's transformation but continued existence. And, finally, the nature of new Vienna as a metropolis was developed in the context of new conceptions of the metropolis itself and its construction.

Here, the general notion of city building [Städtebau] may be viewed as directly relevant to the specific configuration of new Vienna. In his Der Städtebau, Stübben declares that 'in our times in Europe probably no new cities will be founded; in contrast, however, this occurs, in other parts of the globe: in America, in Africa, in Australia.[15] In Europe, for its part, we create new connections between existing urban developments and surrounding districts, new industrial areas, and other dimensions of the metropolis. In other words, in Europe

> 'The outline of the city plan deals specifically with, on the one hand, the new, the expansion of the city [Stadterweiterung], and on the other, with what already exists [das Bestehende], the improvement of the old city. The correct solution to this dual task constitutes, as Baumeister appositely remarks, "a very significant component of all social reforms".
> The manner in which the task is approached, and may be solved is dependent upon local needs.'[16]

Stübben here draws attention to the likely constellation of problems confronting city building in Europe: the juxtaposition of the new with what already exists; the expansion or

enlargement of the new and the improvement of the old; the association of both activities with social transformation and reform; and the socio-spatial and historical specificity of needs as shaping both the way in which such tasks are conceived and dealt with.

Viewed from this perspective, what is distinctive about the development of Vienna during the period under consideration is the claim to have created a new Vienna but in the context of the old Vienna. Vienna was not raised to the ground in toto and then rebuilt anew on the basis of a tabula rasa. Rather, like Paris earlier under Haussmann, it was significant sections of the city that were demolished and rebuilt as new in the context of what already existed. The comparison is a relevant one since, after Haussmann's 'creative destruction' and reconstruction of large tracts of Paris centring on the grand boulevards system, it was the Ringstrasse zone in Vienna which, to contemporaries, was the closest comparable development in Europe. Furthermore, Paris and Vienna, as sites of modernity and discourse on modernity, have in common what for many contemporaries was the stark contrast between the old and the new. As Benjamin suggested, the opposition between the old and the new (both with respect to the city and the commodity) is crucial for the development of a dialectical conception of modernity.[17] 'Old Vienna-New Vienna' may have been a similar productive constellation. In passing, it should be noted that contemporaries in Vienna often made another comparison, not with Paris but with Berlin, whose metropolitan expansion rapidly eclipsed that of Vienna, as was apparent in the metropolitan exhibition of Gross-Berlin in 1910.[18] Wagner's Die Grossstadt [The Metropolis], written in March 1911 and published in the same year, extended the notion of the permanently expanding city - a notion more real for Berlin than Vienna, even though Wagner and others continued to make optimistic projections for the expansion of their city.[19]

All this should suggest a need to examine more fully the connections between Städtebau, Stadterweiterung, Stadtregulierung and Neu-Wien, between city building, city expansion and regulation, and new Vienna, the modern metropolis.

III

The systematisation of knowledge necessary for building cities [Städetbau] in Germany and Austria-Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century was predicated upon two developments.[20] The first was the practical evidence of creating new urban configurations within existing cities. Here the model, and the possibility of its critique, was Baron Haussmann's transformation of Paris in the 1850's and 1860's.[21] Many of the German contributors to the development of city planning in the last quarter of the century

> perceived their interests to be the same as Haussmann's: marshalling an enviable array of administrative powers, he had successfully modernized the conditions of hygiene and traffic circulation in an old but growing city. Haussmann's overriding interest in improving circulation within central Paris fits nicely with his aesthetic goals, which drew on classical and baroque models. His fascination with monumental vistas or points de vue led him to insist on perfectly straight street alignments that would make certain monumental structures visible from great distances, regardless of the obstacles that had to be removed.[22]

The expansion of the city was made possible by the creation of new modes of circulation of individuals and commodities. In turn, this very development was itself predicated on the circulation of urban capital itself as David Harvey and others have shown.[23]

The second precondition for the development of a distinctive discipline or body of knowledge was the ordering of the mass of existing regulations relating to building in urban centres (height of buildings, width of streets, sanitation regulations, traffic ordinances, etc.). One of the first attempts to systematize this knowledge - and one of the most influential in Germany - was Reinhard Baumeister in his Stadt-erweiterung in technischer,

baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung (1876).[24] This compendium of knowledge on technical features, building ordinance control and economic aspects of the extension of cities, although it did not neglect aesthetic concerns, 'did not consider aesthetic goals to be among the matters of pressing public interest that demanded the government's guiding hand'.[25]

In contrast, the Viennese architect and critic Camillo Sitte in his Der Städtebau (1889) commenced his highly successful monograph (its first edition was sold out within a month) with acknowledgement of the technical achievements in urban planning 'in respect to traffic, the advantageous use of building sites, and especially, hygienic improvements'.[26] However, 'artistically we have achieved almost nothing, modern majestic and monumental buildings being usually seen against the most awkward of public squares and the most badly divided lots'. Sitte later summarised the book's main suggestion for city planning as 'to go to school with Nature and the old masters also in matters of town planning'.[27] The reference here to 'the old masters' is an indication of where Sitte draws the majority of his good examples of city planning, in accord with Aristotle's dictum on city planning, namely 'to make its people at once secure and happy'.[28] Most of Sitte's historical examples suggest that happiness was most felicitously secured in this regard prior to 'our mathematical century'. In fact, in the index to the volume it is Florence and Rome that are most often cited in the text after Vienna. Our present urban arrangements can be improved by recalling the aesthetic distance of memory of old cities:

> 'Enchanting recollections of travel form part of our most pleasant reveries. Magnificent town views, monuments and public squares, beautiful vistas all parade before our musing eye, and we savour again the delights of those sublime and graceful things in whose presence we were once so happy'.[29]

This pastoral opening passage to Sitte's Städtebau suggests the need for us to recall the past in our presently constructed memory. That present is one in which 'the process of

enlarging and laying out cities has become an almost purely technical concern'.[30] It is a present accustomed to 'the already proverbial tedium of modern city plans', but one in which 'something of value and beauty' can be constructed, if we find

> an escape from the modern apartment house block system, in order to save, wherever practical, the beautiful old parts of towns from falling prey to continuing demolition, and in the end to bring forth something in the spirit of the old masterpieces.[31]

Of particular importance for Sitte is open spaces and squares in cities (and it is Renaissance and Baroque instances that dominate his text) (I.25) that facilitated active public life within them rather than, as today, serving to provide 'more air and light' or 'a certain interruption in the sea of houses'. This is an ostensibly attractive argument except that, by focusing almost exclusively upon the aesthetic dimension of the square and open spaces, it ignores the social, political and economic reasons for the transformation of the public sphere in an urban context since the Renaissance. The appeal to the 'vital and functioning use of the town square for community life' and the 'rapport between square and surrounding buildings' - like many of Sitte's other recommendations on city planning - often suffer from a degree of abstraction resulting from their detachment from the significant dimensions of social change that can clarify the transition from the Middle Ages and Renaissance to the late nineteenth century urban complex.[32]

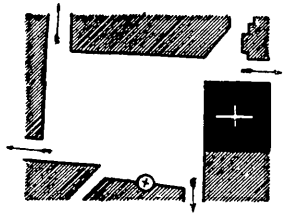
Nonetheless, there are occasions when Sitte's concern for 'artistic effect' does at least confront contemporary modern life. Arguing for the total effect of enclosed public squares that historically are often irregular and nonetheless effective (and thus running counter of the modern 'rage' for 'striving for symmetry'), Sitte maintains that a blank space in the city is not yet a city plaza since,

> 'just as there are furnished and empty rooms, so one might also speak of furnished and unfurnished plazas, since the main requirement for a plaza, as for a room, is the enclosed character of its space.[33]

I.25
C. Sitte: Der Städtebau

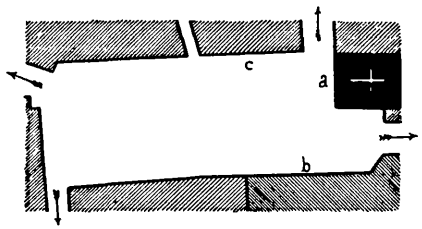
war nicht mehr Zufall. Heute würde man im gleichen Falle mit diesen Zufälligkeiten gründlich aufräumen und gar schöne breite Breschen in die Platzwand schlagen, wie es ja tatsächlich überall geschieht, wo schön geschlossene alte Plätze erweitert und modernisiert werden. Zufall ist es gewiß auch nicht, daß man bei allen alten Plätzen ein dem modernen System schnurgerade entgegengesetztes in bezug auf Einmündung der Straßen beobachten kann. Heute ist es Regel, an jeder Platzecke sich zwei Straßen senkrecht schneiden zu lassen, wahrscheinlich damit dort das Loch in der Platzwand noch größer werde und jeder sogenannte »Häuserblock« oder »Baublock« möglichst vereinzelt für sich dastehe und ja keine geschlossene Gesamtwirkung aufkomme. Bei den Alten war gerade das Gegenteil Regel, nämlich an den Straßenecken womöglich nur je eine Straße münden zu lassen, während die zweite Richtung erst tiefer in dieser Straße abzweigte, wo dies vom Platz aus nicht mehr gesehen werden kann. Aber noch mehr. Diese drei oder vier Eckstraßen münden jede nach einer anderen Richtung ein, und dieser merkwürdige Fall kommt so ungemein häufig vor, entweder rein oder ganz durchgeführt oder wenigstens teilweise, daß auch das als einer der bewußt oder unbewußt herrschenden Grundsätze des alten Städtebaues angesehen werden muß. Bei näherer Überlegung findet man leicht, daß mit diesem Straßenansatz, nach Art von Turbinenarmen gerichtet, der günstigste Fall gewählt

Fig. 25.



RAVENNA: Domplatz.

Fig. 26.



MANTUA: Piazza S. Pietro.
a. S. Pietro. *b*. Pal. Reale. *c*. P. Vescovile.

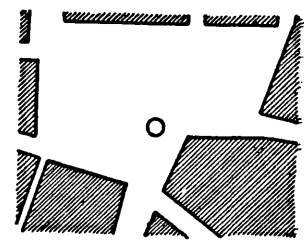
ist, bei welchem von jeder Stelle des Platzes aus gleichzeitig höchstens nur ein einziger Ausblick aus dem Platz hinaus vorhanden ist, also auch nur eine einzige Unterbrechung des Gesamtabschlusses; von den meisten Stellen des Platzes aus gesehen wird der gesamte Rahmen desselben aber überhaupt nicht durchbrochen, weil die Gebäude an den Straßenmündungen sich perspektivisch überschneiden und durch diese gegenseitige Deckung keine unangenehm auffallende Lücke lassen.

Fig. 27.

BRESCIA: S. Clemente.

Das ganze Geheimnis besteht darin, daß die einmündenden Straßen winkelig zu den Visurrichtungen gelegt sind statt parallel mit ihnen, ein Kunstgriff, der auf anderem Gebiete von den Bauleuten, Zimmerleuten und Tischlern schon vom frühesten Mittelalter an oft in raffiniertester Weise geübt wurde, wenn es sich darum handelte, Stein- oder Holzfugen zu verbergen oder doch möglichst wenig auffallend zu gestalten. Die sogenannte Schlagleiste der Tischler verdankt nebst anderem auch diesem Umstande ihre Entstehung und so häufige Verwendung.

Fig. 28.



FLORENZ: Piazza della Signoria.

Was die in den beigegebenen Figuren enthaltenen Beispiele betrifft, so zeigt den reinsten Typus dieser sinnreichen Anordnung der Domplatz von Ravenna (Fig. 25). Ebenso angelegt ist der Domplatz von Pistoja und viele andere. Zu Mantua zeigt die Piazza S. Pietro (Fig. 26) diesen Typus gleichfalls in reiner Durchführung, während der Platz vor S. Clemente zu Brescia (Fig. 27) nur teilweise demselben entspricht. Etwas versteckter ist die geschilderte Regel enthalten in der Anlage der Piazza della Signoria (Fig. 28) zu Florenz. Die breiten Hauptstraßen folgen der Regel, die bis gegen bloß Meterbreite (neben Loggia dei Lanzi) ver-

A decidedly enclosed quality of 'space' is therefore required for a plaza to be aesthetically effective. But there is another more modern reason, relating to modern metropolitan existence, for the enclosed plaza. Sitte notes that

> Recently a unique nervous disorder has been diagnosed - "agoraphobia". Numerous people are said to suffer from it, always experiencing a certain anxiety or discomfort whenever they have to walk across a vast empty space ... Agoraphobia is a very new and modern ailment. One naturally feels very cozy in small, old plazas, and only in our memory do they loom gigantic, because in our imagination the magnitude of the artistic effect takes the place of actual size. On our modern gigantic plazas, with their yawning emptiness and oppressive ennui, the inhabitants of snug old towns suffer attacks of this fashionable agoraphobia.[34]

It should be noted here in this discussion of urban spatial pathology that Sitte assumes that those afflicted with this new disorder are those who migrate or visit the new metropolitan from small old towns. Significant here too is that, in this context, Sitte notes Baumeister's objections to excessively large open squares as 'bringing no benefit to health, but only causing heat, dust and occasional traffic jams'.[35]

In general, Sitte's treatment of the pathology of modern urban spatial interactions is predicated upon an often implicit distinction between the natural development of older urban configurations and the abstract, artificial development of modern ones. Irregular old square are aesthetically attractive, for instance, since they were not 'conceived on the draught board, but instead developed gradually in natura, allowing for all that the eye notices in natura and treating with indifference that which would be apparent only on paper'.[36] In contrast, the set shape of modern squares, 'laid out with a ruler ... is only ever-so-many square yards of empty surface'.[37] Modern planning and architectural practice create empty surfaces, set shapes and mechanical reproductions. This arises out of the architect's abstract relationship to that which is commissioned since

> often we have never in our lives seen the plaza for which a competition project may be intended. Should one be satisfied

> then to place this mechanically produced project, conceived to fit any situation, into the middle of an empty place without organic relation to its surroundings or to the dimensions of any particular building? "Manufactured product" is here as everywhere the trademark of modernity; everything is punched out by the same die; also in this field it is the trend of our time.[38]

What the modern city builder has to offer 'to compete with the wealth of the past' is merely 'the precisely straight house-line and the cubic building-block' and the result is that, of the good artistic features of the past, 'nothing is left of them, not even a memory'.

It is therefore Sitte's task to reverse this situation in which city planning is 'only ... a technical problem' by recalling good exemplars of past planning - Renaissance but especially Baroque - that create a positive artistic effect in the cityscape. The particular modern features to be countered are, besides the cubic building block, the specific problem which the straight line and rectilinearity create. Modern streets, continually breached by wide cross-streets 'so that on both sides nothing is left out a row of separated blocks of buildings', fail to create a unified impression. This is also true of the modern arcades in front of separate building blocks (e.g. in front of the Vienna Town Hall), thereby denying any continuity. Such continuity is also lacking in the modern street 'made up primarily of corner buildings. A row of isolated blocks of buildings is going to look bad, under any circumstances, even if placed in a curved line'.[39] Sitte, arguing again Baumeister's preference for regular building lots, favours irregular ones since they provide a challenge, often produce interesting architectural solutions, and 'in the interior of such a building, wedge-shaped pieces are repeatedly left over and are splendidly suited for all sorts of little extra rooms (elevators, spiral staircases, storage rooms, toilets, etc.), a feature we miss in regular plans'.[40]

In contrast with the felicitous irregular creations of the past, 'the artistic disadvantage of the modern' is also revealed in the preference for the straight street, 'the

universal horizontal termination' of buildings 'all to the maximum allowable height, emphasizing the harshness of that line with a real roster of ostentatious cornices', 'the endless rows of windows of identical size and shape, the overabundance of small pilasters and continuously repeated curlicues ... and the absence of large, quiet wall surfaces'.[41]

The harshness and monotony of the building line must be viewed in the context of the modern technical approach to urban street layout dominated by traffic and transportation concerns. Most brutal of the three major systems - the gridiron, the radial and the triangular system - is the gridiron system, developed in cities such as Mannheim in the eighteenth century but widespread in North America. The irony of the gridiron system, recognized by Baumeister and others, is that this checkerboard system has major traffic disadvantages at street crossings. In passing, it should be noted here that traffic flow designs were a major constituent of the debate in architectural journals in the 1890's on straight or curved streets.[42]

The disadvantages of crossing streets (compared with intersecting streets, for example), which Sitte highlights for carriage traffic, consists in traffic dramatically slowing down in modern city sections whereas 'in the narrow alleys of the old part of town, crowded with traffic as they are, .. [the driver] can proceed quite nicely at a trot ... [since] a street seldom crosses there, and even simple street openings are relatively infrequent'. In the case of pedestrians, they experience 'every hundred steps they have to leave the sidewalk in order to cross another street' and 'miss the natural protection of uninterrupted house fronts'[43] (as in medieval streets and where promenades exist).

The radial system creates even more traffic problems, necessitating police traffic control and the construction for pedestrians of 'a small safety island on which a beautiful slender gas light rises like a lighthouse amidst the stormy waves of the ocean of vehicles. This safety island with its gas lamp is perhaps the most magnificent and original invention

of modern city planning!'[44] For the pedestrian, the effect of this system (an extreme example is the Parisian Place de l'Etoile with twelve intersections in a single radial system) is disorientation since 'the traffic junction is also a junction of all lines of sight. As one circles the plaza he or she always sees the same panorama, so that it is never exactly clear where one is standing'. The overall result is 'a complete loss of our bearings, a monotony of vistas and an architectural ineffectiveness'. More generally, the construction of 'modern gigantic streets and plazas' is typified by 'the absence of pedestrians'.[45]

Just as there is a technical reason, in this case hygiene, for landscaping cities with treelined avenues and gardens, so the artistic effect can be ambiguous. Outside residential suburban areas, the effect of trees and parks in the context of monumental structures can be to the detriment of the cityscape insofar as lines of trees - if they are not trimmed as in the Baroque park - can detract or obscure architecture and sculpture. Sitte gives the modern instance of trees 'on shabby, sickly boulevards', which are always photographed in winter 'so that important architecture is at least partly visible between the bare branches'.[46]

For Sitte there is a problem, too, with many modern parks whose preference is for enclosed built-in green spaces. For him, the contrast is between 'the old private garden, customarily connected with several adjacent ones, all of which are guarded from the wind and dust of the streets by the enclosing facades of high buildings' and 'the interior room of a modern apartment building - with its view into narrow, stuffy, dark and frequently bad-smelling courts, so filled with stagnant air that the windows are forced to remain shut'. The latter is not compensated for by the modern public garden which is 'surrounded by open streets, .. exposed to wind and weather and is coated with street dust'.[47] For Sitte this state of affairs is due to the modern block system which, instead of the earlier 'effective closure of space' associated with the unbroken street front, displays the opposite tendency

of dissection into separate blocks - building block, plaza block, garden block - each one being clearly circumscribed by its street frontage'.[48]

Such specific reflections serve to confirm Sitte's view that earlier times were more conducive to artistic urban concerns than 'our mathematically precise modern life' in which 'man himself has become almost a machine'.[49] Modern living conditions have transformed the range of possibilities for achieving an aesthetic effect by the diminution of the public sphere in which, for instance, market and consumption activity has been increasingly withdrawn into 'inartistic commercial structures' and artistic works 'are straying increasingly from streets and plazas into the "art cages" of the museums'.[50]

But more spectacularly, the sheer size of urban expansion has been accompanied by the parcelling of building lots, with their high price leading to their maximum utilization. In turn, this has meant the disappearance of many external features - such as 'projections, porches, ornamental staircases', etc. - [which have] 'retreated from street and plaza into the interior of buildings, yielding to the universal trend of the time - the fear of open spaces [Platzscheu]'.[51] What was originally exterior such as stairways and galleries and constituted the charm of medieval structures (as in Amalfi and its 'grotesque confusion between interior and exterior motifs'), has given way to the modern design with stairs as an exclusively interior feature. Indeed,

> 'we have become so sensitive ... and so unaccustomed to the hub-bub of streets and plazas that we cannot work when someone is watching us, we don't like to dine by an open window because somebody could look in, and the balconies of our houses usually remain empty'.[52]

Again Sitte is indicating a significant retreat from the public sphere and a retreat implicitly into the bourgeois interieur, though his whole analysis of city planning makes no reference to the stratification of the capitalist city. Similarly, the earlier extensive examination of traffic problems in street design makes no reference to the possibility of other forms of

transport than the horse carriage and the street car. The railway, in its city or underground variants, is not mentioned.

Thus, while recognizing some technical developments in engineering and sanitation, Sitte's preoccupation with artistic effect and, despite his disclaimers to the contrary, his negative assessment of modernity, leads him to propose improvements in the modern system of city planning that rest upon the 'imperative to study the works of the past'.[53] He does recognize that any modern city planning must take account of population, traffic circulation and social structure projects to facilitate city zoning. At the same time, this is accompanied by a call to resist the tenement block which has 'actually taken over modern cities almost completely'. Sitte further recognizes that, on the basis of the above projections, the 'number, size and approximate form of .. public buildings' should also be assessed. The absence of attention to artistic effect in this and other spheres of the modern city leads to a lack of public attachment or identification with the city 'as one can in fact see among the dwellers of the artless, tedious, new sections of cities'.[54]

The exploration of artistic effect, Sitte maintains, must deal with the modes of viewing space in the city. We must investigate 'the act of seeing in general, .. the physiological manner in which the perception of space ... takes place'.[55] Sitte's argument here is that

> objects observed are to be found on radii of which the eye is the centre, approximating more or less an arrangement which is concave with regard to the viewer. This is the perspective base of the focused designs of Baroque masters, and it is the form by which strong effects can best be achieved naturally because in this way a maximum of objects in space can be perceived and appreciated at the same time. The modern building block presents the exact opposite of this experience. Expressed in capsule form, then, art demands concavity, but exploitation of the building site convexity.[56]

These two demands must be reconciled in city planning although Sitte's commitment to the modern metropolis is always mediated by his preference for the Baroque and aesthetic distance in general. We modern city dwellers

> pass our lives in formless mass housing with the depressing sight of externally similar apartment house blocks and unbroken frontage lines. It is probably the gentle force of habit that hardens us to them. We ought to consider, however, the impression we receive upon returning home from Venice or Florence -how painfully our banal modernity affects us. This may be ...why the fortunate inhabitants of those marvellously artistic cities have no need to leave them, while we every year for a few weeks must get away into nature in order to be able to endure our city for another year.[57]

Yet despite this negative judgment of cities, Sitte is optimistic with respect to Vienna where 'a lucky star seems to hover over the city expansion project'.[58] That this view is not maintained in the following decade must be explored later, not least because Sitte is a consistent critic of Wagner and his school.

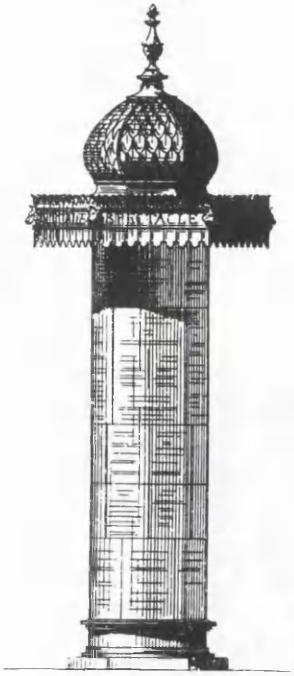
IV

Joseph Stübben's Der Städtebau, which appeared in the year following Sitte's publication, does not possess at first sight the same polemical content as Sitte's volume.[59] Running to over 550 pages, it has the appearance more of a compendium or encyclopaedia of city planning that covers in detail city plans, streets, dwellings, parks, transport, traffic, lighting, water and drainage, telegraph networks, monuments, all the street 'furniture' of the late nineteenth century from public conveniences to street signs, and much more.(I.26) In this respect it can be seen as building upon Baumeister's earlier major volume, itself of over 450 pages. However, this does not necessarily imply, as Daniel Wieczorek has argued, that compared with Sitte's volume, 'the texts of the German city planners are in fact not theories of urban planning but simply textbooks'.[60] This is true neither for

I.26
Typical pages of Stübben's Der Städtebau

In der Querrichtung bedeutend weniger, in der Längenrichtung jedoch etwas mehr Verkehrsraum nehmen die Anſchlagſäulen in Anſpruch. Fig. 677 zeigt ein Pariſer, Fig. 679 ein Kölner Muſter. Die Herſtellung geſchieht aus Holz mit Leinwandüberklebung oder beſſer aus Backſteinen mit Cementputz oder noch beſſer aus einzelnen Trommeln von Cement-Beton. Das Innere iſt natürlich hohl. Der Durchmeſſer beträgt 1,0 bis 1,5 m, die Schafthöhe 3,0 bis 4,5 m. Die Abdeckung wird aus Metall, Cementputz oder Hauſtein gebildet. Den oberen Ring pflegt die Stadtbehörde ſich für ihren Gebrauch vorzubehalten. Bei der Kölner Säule enthalten

Fig. 677.



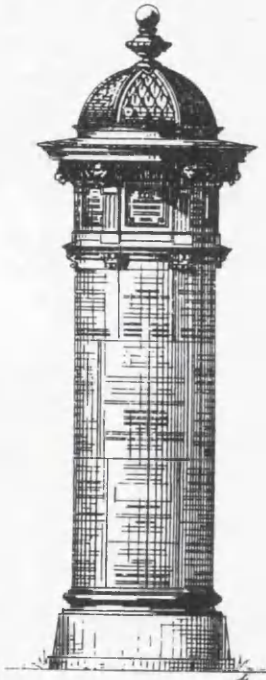
Anſchlagſäule zu Paris.

1/30 n. Gr.

Fig. 678.

Laternenpfoſten mit Anſchlagtafel zu Paris.

Fig. 679.



Anſchlagſäule zu Köln.

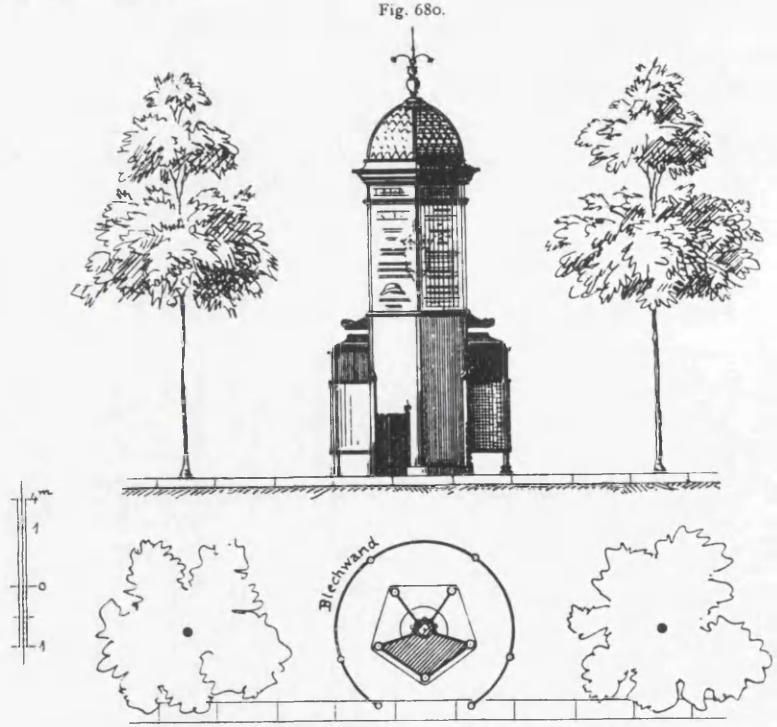
beiſpielsweiſe die ſechs Metopenfelder unter dem Kranzgeſims die Bezeichnungen des Orts-, Poſt-, Polizei-, Bau-, Schul- und Feuerwehr-Bezirkes.

Schon in Fig. 575 (S. 331) wurde eine Verbindung von Anſchlagſäule und Bedürfniſs-Anſtalt mitgetheilt. Eine ähnliche Combination zeigt Fig. 680, welche eine auf den Pariſer *Boulevards* in groſser Zahl vertretene Baulichkeit darſtellt: die fünf Seiten des Baues werden in der oberen Hälfte von Glasplatten gebildet, deren Beſchreibung bei Abend in Folge der inneren Beleuchtung beſonders auffallend und leſerlich iſt; die untere Hälfte des Bauwerkes enthält an der Bürgerſteigſeite drei Piſſoir-Stände, welche von einer oben und unten der Luft freien Zutritt gewährenden

Schirmwand umgeben ſind, während der Eingang neben den beiden geſchloſſenen Fünfeckſeiten vom Fahrdamm her ſtattfindet.

Die Anſchlagſäulen werden in den Baumreihen breiter Bürgerſteige, auf den Trottoir-Rundungen von Straſsenecken, auf Trottoir-Inſeln und freien Plätzen möglichſt an neutralen Verkehrspunkten, aber doch dem Verkehrsſtrom thunlich nahe, aufgeſtellt. Da für die öffentlichen Bedürfniſs-Anſtalten die Ortswahl nach ähnlichen Geſichtspunkten erfolgt, ſo liegt es nahe, beide Anſtalten in der angegebenen oder in anderer Weiſe zu vereinigen; dem deutſchen Gefühle dürfte indeſſen dieſe Vereinigung wenig entſprechen.

Fig. 680.



Transparente Anſchlagſäule in Verbindung mit einem Piſſoir zu Paris.

546. Annoncen-Uhren, Transparente etc.

Sonſtige Einrichtungen für private Kundmachungen ſind folgende: ſog. Annoncen-Uhren, d. h. öffentliche Uhren, deren Räderwerk zugleich dazu dient, in einem Glasgehäuſe eine Walze zu drehen, auf welcher eine gröſsere Zahl von Kundmachungen aufgewickelt iſt; mit der Drehung der Walze fällt ein Zettel nach dem anderen hinab und kann einige Minuten lang von den erſtaunten Neugierigen geleſen werden; ferner Transparente, welche nach Art der Straſsenlaternen auf den Bürgerſteigrand geſtellt werden; Gasſterne, welche in Flammenſchrift die abendlichen Vergnügungsorte angeben, z. B. *Jardin des fleurs;* in die Straſse hinausragende Firmenſchilder, wehende Fahnen, Geſchäftszeichen, wie z. B. Stiefel oder Manſchetten, welche den Wanderer

Baumeister's major work nor that of Stübben, since both are theoretically informed despite their compendium-like layout.

Indeed, in the context of the conflicts surrounding the establishment of a new discipline of city planning, Gerhard Fehl[61] has argued that Baumeister and Stübben constitute one of three contested traditions in the late nineteenth century discourse - Städtebau in the sense of the art of city planning [Stadtplannung]; in contrast with Städtebau in the sense of dwelling construction [Wohnungsbau] (exemplified by Rudolf Eberstadt, Theodor Goecke and Adolf Messel) and Städtebau in the sense of the art of city planning [Städtebaukunst] (exemplified by Sitte, Karl Henrici and Theodor Fischer). Certainly in the ensuing debates in the early 1890's Stübben confronts both Sitte and Henrici on the nature of city building.

Nonetheless, it is the case that the guiding theoretical threads must be extracted from Stübben's volume and that they do not present themselves as a sustained theoretical argument. If Sitte's programme is one which focuses upon the monumental buildings and squares of the centre of the city - as if the rest of the city did not exist, except as monotonous suburbs - Stübben's work encompasses the whole of the modern city, with one significant exception: the industrial areas of the city. Whereas Sitte refers only to machine-like construction of buildings and human beings reduced to machines and completely ignores the development of an industrial society, Stübben is more aware of the importance of new technology in the city, but he too is uninterested in the actual industrial sectors of the city. Stübben's conception of city building is, however, wider in scope that that of Sitte. Its object is

> all these building constructions ... whose purpose it is, on the one hand, to make possible the provision of appropriate dwellings and workplaces for city dwellers, their interaction with one another and movement out of the city, on the other, to make possible for the communality the provision of built structures for administration, religious service, education, art and science, traffic and other public purposes.[62]

In other words, it creates the spatial preconditions for 'citizens' dwelling, city transport ... public facilities' - dwelling, working, moving (transport), communal public activities. At the conclusion of his extensive study, Stübben seeks to expand upon the tasks and scope of city building further:

> Städtebau is not merely the totality of those constructions that make possible dwellings for the city population, and transport as well as for the communality the provision of public buildings; Städtebau creates not merely the ground and the framework for the development of individual building activity: rather, at the same time, it is a comprehensive social activity for the physical and mental welfare of the citizenry; it is the fundamental, practical, public hygiene; it is the cradle, the clothing, the adornment of the city.[63]

It is not the last of these which Stübben emphasizes here but rather the social goal of city planning whose 'creations are as much for the poor as they are for the rich'. City planning participates in 'equalizing justice, a co-operation in the removal of social grievances and thereby an influential co-operation in social appeasement and welfare'.[64]

This ethical and technical project is one which distinguishes Stübben's (and Baumeister's) position on city planning from the aesthetic concerns of Sitte. Stübben's study is to be distinguished further by its focus upon modern city examples (if not a surfeit of them) and their greater international distribution. The technical orientation to the city and its whole necessary infrastructure is further accompanied often by socio-economic reflections. Thus, the opening section on housing distinguishes between individual family houses and multioccupancy apartment blocks and their distribution in Europe. The rental apartment block offers 'all too often a barrack-like uniformity', at best 'an enormous illusory monumentality'. But unlike Sitte, for whom this artistic effect is paramount, Stübben's emphasis is upon the socio-economic foundation of such a structure:

> The rented apartment block, above all else, fulfils the purpose of financial investments, resting upon the housing needs of others; its task is to extract the highest possible rent as is made obvious by the name "interest generating house "[Zinshaus]. ... The rented

> apartment block changes its inhabitants and its owners just like the commodity its owners; it has no intimate or one could say inner relationship to its inhabitants. It must suit everyone, deny all uniqueness. The inhabitants do not love their house; they only take care of the part used by themselves. The entrance hall, the stairway are really an appendage of the public street and, as a rule, open to anyone.[65]

In terms of the development of modern society, Stübben views the extent to which this mode of living (with 63 persons on average in such a house in Vienna and Berlin) to be 'a sad shadowside of our civilisation'. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Stübben is concerned with all modes of accommodation for all social strata - a concern that is not always reflected in the architecture journals of the 1890's and in the period up to the First World War.[66]

In the debate on city planning in the early 1890's, it was Stübben's alleged emphasis upon city traffic which disturbed his opponents, summarised in the statement that 'like country roads, city streets are in the first instance traffic routes; only in the second instance do they serve the extension of buildings'.[67] The density of traffic serves to condition where the best commercial opportunities are located and increases the likelihood of substitution of commercial premises for dwellings. This 'density of traffic on a city street is not fortuitous or arbitrary but rather a direct consequence of its position in the city plan' and is less affected by the structures along it than those such as bridges, gates, etc. that influence the flow of traffic. Traffic is a dynamic factor in the city, as is its focal point 'which is not something spatially fixed and unmoving'.[68] Although at the centre of many cities the focal point of traffic is the 'city' itself, in some (such as Paris, Cologne, Budapest and Vienna) circular traffic on its ring street and sometimes inner ring street is also dense. It is circular traffic which was to exercise both Stübben, Wagner and others in their plans for the regulation of Vienna in 1893/94.

Stübben is also concerned with the interaction between public buildings and monuments and the circulation of traffic, beyond the 'fully jammed narrow main streets and dead adjacent streets' found in many cities. The location of public buildings and monuments should be governed by two considerations - 'considerations of functional appropriateness and considerations of beauty':

> Functional appropriateness [Zweckmässigkeit] requires easy access, ready locatability, much light and air. Beauty requires a distinctive location in comparison to the neighbouring structures and an artistically effective position in the whole section of the city. It is almost always the case that considerations of functional appropriateness and beauty mutually support one another; they seldom stand in contradiction to one another'.[69]

This issue is disputed by Sitte, Henrici and others and raised in a somewhat different manner subsequently by Wagner.

What cannot be disputed is Stübben's concern throughout his extensive comparative study with both utility and beauty, a concern which extends to 'all the metropolitan infrastructure down to its drainage, lighting, signposting systems as well as public toilets, advertising hordings, trees and plants, telegraph wire systems, etc. The comparative approach to all of these dimensions does not lead Stübben, as some of his contemporaries approached city planning, to favour their own nation's solutions to any or all of the issues. Rather, Stübben sought to extend the new discipline beyond 'street pavements and the building alignment line' to the form 'which the city offers to our gaze and which is represented for friends of humanity alike as one of the noblest works for the well being of fellow human beings'.[70]

An indication of the fact that Stübben's Städtebau volume was not merely a compendium of planning and building practices is the debate between Stübben and Henrici that succeeded its publication. Most commonly interpreted and subsumed under the title of one of the articles in this debate 'Straight or Curved Streets', its actual context is wider

since the confrontation between Stübben and Henrici is also a debate with Sitte. However, this debate on modern city planning and preservation of artistic effect in city squares is, in turn, not a new debate in the early 1890's.

Rather, the discussion, as far as one of its participants, Stübben, is concerned, may be traced back to the 1870's. Taking up a then current debate in Brussels on the realignment of the medieval street Marché-aux-Poulets and the defence of its existing irregularity by the architect Beyaert, Stübben's article 'Straight or Curved Streets?' (1877),[77] whilst recognising the virtues of the curved street, defends the straight line of the modern system of planning so long as it is aesthetically - as well as functionally - effective. He concludes his argument by citing from - and recommending - the statement by the Association of Austrian Engineers and Architects in the same year (from their 'Statement on the Future Building Development of Vienna') that

> 'No small sacrifice is created by builders and local authorities by the judgment that streets must always be straight. There can be no question that straight streets are most appropriate for traffic and that without specific grounds one should not deviate from the straight line. But in old parts of the city further to require a shortest traffic line or even in order to avoid steeper gradients, it is often much more practical to lay out the outline of the street in broken lines or curves than to insist upon a straight street; aesthetic considerations, which in such cases should largely be preserved, certainly do not stand in the way of such a beginning'.[72]

This early statement, to which Stübben concurs, should be born in mind in the subsequent debate.

This applies also to Stübben's article 'On the Construction of Public Squares' (in the same place and year)[73] which insist that 'we are justified in requiring that the setting, the size, the structure and the division of squares should correspond equally to the three essential demands of functional appropriateness [Zweckmässigkeit], health and beauty'.[74] This early article, much of which in revised form is incorporated into his Der Städtebau in

1890 also contains an interesting reflection on the relation between outside and inside structures - a theme which Colomina has associated with much later deliberations by Loos and Corbusier.[75] Stübben seeks to classify squares in a manner that he more fully developed later. Stübben compares the forms of the square with rooms in a house:

> Just as the different kinds of construction of squares with respect to their determination and location allow themselves to be compared in an appropriate manner with the room of a house, the traffic square with the vestibule, the market square with the office, the architectonic square with the ballroom or the drawing room, the English square, finally, with the bedroom or the secluded family chamber, so this comparison equates almost completely with respect to the dimensions of size. The claim to the largest dimensions, accordingly, go to the architectonic and traffic squares, English and market squares require less space. In the case of the latter this should not be forgotten since on too large a market square the buyers feel themselves isolated and the public's desire to buy is not executed; it is indeed a specific confinement that is a necessary attribute of busy market transactions. Just as the salon must stand in a correct relationship to its decor so the size of the architectonic square must stand in relation to the buildings upon it or around it.[76]

This analogy illuminates Stübben's conception of the city in his Städtebau volume in which the whole infrastructure of the city corresponds to the furniture not merely of the streets but also to a building. In this particular instance, his reading of the space of the square - and its economic dimension - is clearly a different one from Sitte's reading of space and squares. More generally it is true that the city is a constellation of features and signs that Stübben reads seeks to order and read.

The debate surrounding Sitte's and Stübben's volumes, however, focus more narrowly upon streets and squares in the first instance. The starting point is Henrici's 1891 review of Stübben's Der Städtebau[77] which he views as a work which does not represent 'something totally new' but rather what has been observed as new in the last decade. In particular, Henrici juxtaposes Stübben's technical standpoint with Sitte's artistic standpoint, with Henrici's assertion that 'our present day architecture strives towards the

picturesque [dem Malerischen]'.[78] Significantly - for the future - Henrici laments the modern urban planning system's preference for the 'unGerman': 'Is it really necessary that this striving, derived from the primal German essence and directed towards the picturesque square must make way for the unGerman, Italian or French type, because the latter adapts better to the equally unGerman modern system of 'city planning?' The attempt to preserve the original beautiful squares and streets should, of course not merely copy them in new constructs for it is impossible to copy such old originals. Rather this striving for copying the old is precisely what is recommended by modern city planning 'with its classifications and with its squares and street figuration by means of circles and lines'.[79] But Henrici sees the major defect of the modern system in the identification of streets with traffic flows. The linear grid crossing systems proposed by the modern system create significant loss of time at major intersections, thus contradicting the view that the straight line is the shortest way between two points since, such crossings are 'conceptual [reflektiert] and unnatural, arbitrary'.[80] Henrici therefore favours other solutions including curved streets and indirect linear street crossing.

Indeed, Henrici sees the straight street as associated in the modern system with 'individual public buildings in a parade' and parallel housing rows. Instead, the location of public buildings should be interspersed with dwellings since it is from there that one should be able to appreciate and achieve the beautiful perspective. However,

> The average public is in fact alienated from the artistic vision and at present finds complete satisfaction for the enjoyment of a cityscape in the richly bedecked shop display windows, above whose huge reflecting glass the monumental facades swirl in the air and in the attire which on foot, in the coach or on horseback rush by and are reflected in the glass windows. But should one concede that this is a justified and justifiable taste?[81]

Henrici's intention is to educate the public in its artistic taste, but not by the adoption of foreign model such as Stübben's praise for Parisian points de vue but rather 'by taking up again genuine, old, primal German [Urdeutsch]' examples.

Stübben rejects this identification of straight streets, and street crossing with modern city planning systems and their opposition to the old with a corresponding identification of curved streets and the avoidance of street crossings as the model for a 'genuine old primal German type'.[82] Stübben deconstructs the 'modern city planning system' which Henrici seems to abhor by pointing out, firstly, that his own Städtebau volume drew on many historical and contemporary instances of good practice from many countries and, secondly, that 'in my view, city planning in the last thirty years has still not been incorporated into a completed "system".'[83] The juxtaposition of this 'unGerman' system with the curved street as 'primal German' is illusory insofar as there are countless instances of 'unregulated curving and crossing' systems in French and Italian cities. Stübben further notes that he himself discussed the distinction between straight and curved streets almost two decades earlier and certainly, more recently took account of valuable elements in Sitte's study of city planning. In this respect, contrary to Henrici's rigid opposition between the (old) artistic and the (new) modern system, Stübben insists that city planning should be concerned with the reconciliation of the demands of traffic and of 'the naked acquisitive interest' with aesthetic interests.

With respect to this aesthetic interest, Stübben argues that the fact that many medieval churches, town halls and the like were built on irregular plans cannot be adduced as a reason to follow the principle of irregularity in modern constructions in order to produce an artistic effect. Indeed, both modern life and modern technology no longer allow a true imitation of old city layouts', and on public health grounds such crooked and irregular arrangements should not be favoured. Thus, although artistic considerations

should be increasingly taken into account, 'aesthetic "reflection", and artistic temper unfortunately have no right of precedence over consideration of technical traffic factors, economic and health considerations'.[84] We must recognise that

> A city building plan is not just an ideal work of art but rather is something which decides upon important economic questions, upon mine and yours, upon the future welfare of many inhabitants.[85]

It has to comply with many building regulations, rules for loss compensation and many other factors.

Henrici's reply to Stübben, 'Individualism in City Planning' (1891)[86] returns to the modern city planning system's one-sided privileging of traffic interests, which in turn create traffic problems by favouring direct or unmediated street crossings. This arises out of 'the modern mode of building cities [which], as I believe, does not really connect with historical traditions. It commences, in accordance with the new establishment of normal street widths, with the primitive rectangular or chessboard scheme'.[87] In contrast to this system, Henrici detects the emergence of a new current based upon 'a healthy individualism', not in the sense of the planner's or architect's personal qualities being displayed in a city plan, but rather that 'individualisation must be appropriate to the distinctive features of the place that is to be built upon'.[88] It therefore follows that there can be no single universally valid system or scheme for this approach, but merely that account be taken of traffic, building or dwelling and beauty. Of these three it is the building dimension that 'represents the bodily element of the whole city sector, the flesh which with the healthy content and in a beautiful form, is to produce the street. In contrast, streets - without building - in themselves form merely surfaces without content'.[89] The variations in street formation should include irregularities and deviations from the rigid chessboard system.

Henrici addresses the effect of ring roads in this context. Although without specific reference to the Vienna Ringstrasse, his reflections are revealing. For him,

> Ring roads are also mostly to be seen as auxilliary lines [Nebenlinien], and will probably only exceptionally and for only part of their length bear continuous commercial traffic. In most instances they are especially appropriate as promenade installations, because they bring with them, as one goes round them, rapidly changing images and impressions. Such promenade ring roads are largely walked upon or travelled upon by persons who have a great deal of time.[90]

The early images of the Vienna Ringstrasse and guide book accounts suggests that at least significant sections of the street were viewed as for the purposes of the promenade, for refined flânerie.[91] Henrici's concern here, however, is to argue for greater differentiation of streets, for the dispersal of public buildings instead of their concentrations, for greater individualism in city planning. To much of this Stübben concurs since

> It is indeed better to take into account some individual weaknesses and errors than to give over the formation of the city to schematism. Since the much repeated critique of the boring and barren nature of modern city areas is often only too true, so it is urgently to be desired that artistically trained colleagues concern themselves more than previously with the questions of city planning.[92]

But, once more, Stübben defends his claim that his own Städtebau volume reflected diverse demands upon city planning and did not forward a single modern system.

The debate took a somewhat different turn two years later in Henrici's 'Boring and amusing streets', [Langweilige und kurzweilige Strassen],[93] in which he terms a street 'boring if the wanderer along it gets the impression that the route is longer than it actually is; I term it amusing if the reverse is the case'.[94] Henrici's objection here is to the perspective of the straight street, his argument being that the more one sees of the continuous ground surface and walls of the street the more boring will a street be. The more a street is denied the endless perspective, by giving it curves for example, the more

changes of perspective are available and the more interesting it will be. In terms of landscape the difference is between two hours walking along a flat poplar avenue and two hours in the hills. Between the boring and the amusing street is the 'normal' street which has breaks in its walls and does not deceive as to its true length. Even the long straight street may be broken up by artificial means, such as planting of bushes and trees in the middle, lanterns or introducing curves into the street. The deliberate intervention of city planners gives the opportunity to reduce the amount of fortuitousness, which Henrici views as having had a more deleterious than beneficial effect with regard to the beauty of cities.

Stübben's reply 'On the beautiful formation of urban streets'[95] again points out that, though coming from a different standpoint and based upon other foundations, he had already indicated the beneficial effect of concave lines in streets and squares as preventing boredom on the part of the wanderer and encouraging a changing perspective. But rather than be preoccupied with introducing details to produce distractions, Stübben insists that the problem goes much deeper if we recognise that

> Major traffic arteries are unavoidable in our times. It is our modern task to construct them in an artistically beautiful manner, a task that is perhaps more difficult but nonetheless equally important as the designing of an artistic detail according to models from previous centuries.[96]

The latter procedure hardly addresses the real problems faced by metropolitan traffic and the attempt to cater for it in an aesthetically appealing manner.

Although this debate continues further into the decade, it should already be apparent that at the heart of this debate lie different conceptions of metropolitan existence, even though a preoccupation by both parties with perspective in streets and a somewhat limited conception of urban space is evident. Further, Stübben, in his contributions to this debate, does not draw out the fuller significance of traffic that is to be found in his

Städtebau volume and certainly to be extrapolated from it. The discussion of traffic [Verkehr] in its broadest sense involves the circulation of goods, mobile entities and individuals in a manner that is not merely increasing in density but also accelerating in speed in some instances.[97] But, in addition, the facilitation of urban traffic requires a massive investment in and creation of a material culture for such transportation. It is not merely a matter of streets and squares and their configuration but the whole range of material artefacts that accompany traffic flows which Stübben's volume explores in meticulous detail: street signs, bridges, viaducts, vegetation planted along streets, advertising boards and columns, street lighting system, needs of those circulating such as public lavatories, street car stands, railway stations, and so on. All these are proliferating in the second half of the nineteenth century. Many of them are new and requiring classification for use. In part, this is Stübben's concern. It is a project which has crucially influenced our modes of metropolitan experience, and the space of the city with its urban furniture.

The impact of some of this debate, in turn, may be seen upon submissions and discussion of the plans for the General Regulation of Vienna. As Renate Schweitzer has demonstrated, 'Stübben's compendium was ... totally oriented toward practical concerns and was thus widely received in professional circles. Individual design elements, such as, amongst others, examples for street crossings and laying down of squares were often copied, also in the Vienna General Regulation Plan'[98] of 1894. Schweitzer also indicates that amongst the prominent issues on the debate between Stübben and Henrici 'the aesthetic superiority of "curved" over "straight" streets attributed to Sitte - [it was] more the influence of Stübben that was evident in the General Regulation Plan ... . In the Viennese General Regulation Plan it appears that Stübben's line of argument was to a large extent followed, since "curved" streets of any significant number were only planned in the

hilly western border areas, whereas in the less strongly contoured southern area due for extension and in the flat areas on the left bank of the Danube predominantly straight streets were envisaged'.[99] Thus, this seemingly obtuse debate had a real impact upon the 'new' Vienna of the 1890s.

V

When Feldegg announced in 1895 in the first article of the first issue of Der Architekt that Vienna was experiencing a second Renaissance, what he had in mind was a distinction between the development of the Ringstrasse zone from 1860 to 1890 as the first Renaissance and the new expansion of the city in the 1890s.[100] His comparison was accompanied by the insight that 'whereas the first Viennese Renaissance with its major palace constructions had a fundamental aristocratic trait, the second Viennese Renaissance, with its predominantly utilitarian constructions [Nutzbauten], reveals a democratic trait'. Feldegg characterizes the first Renaissance as one in which major individual structures, 'the individual monumental works', were built, where the second Renaissance must produce (by implication, collective) 'complexes of buildings'.

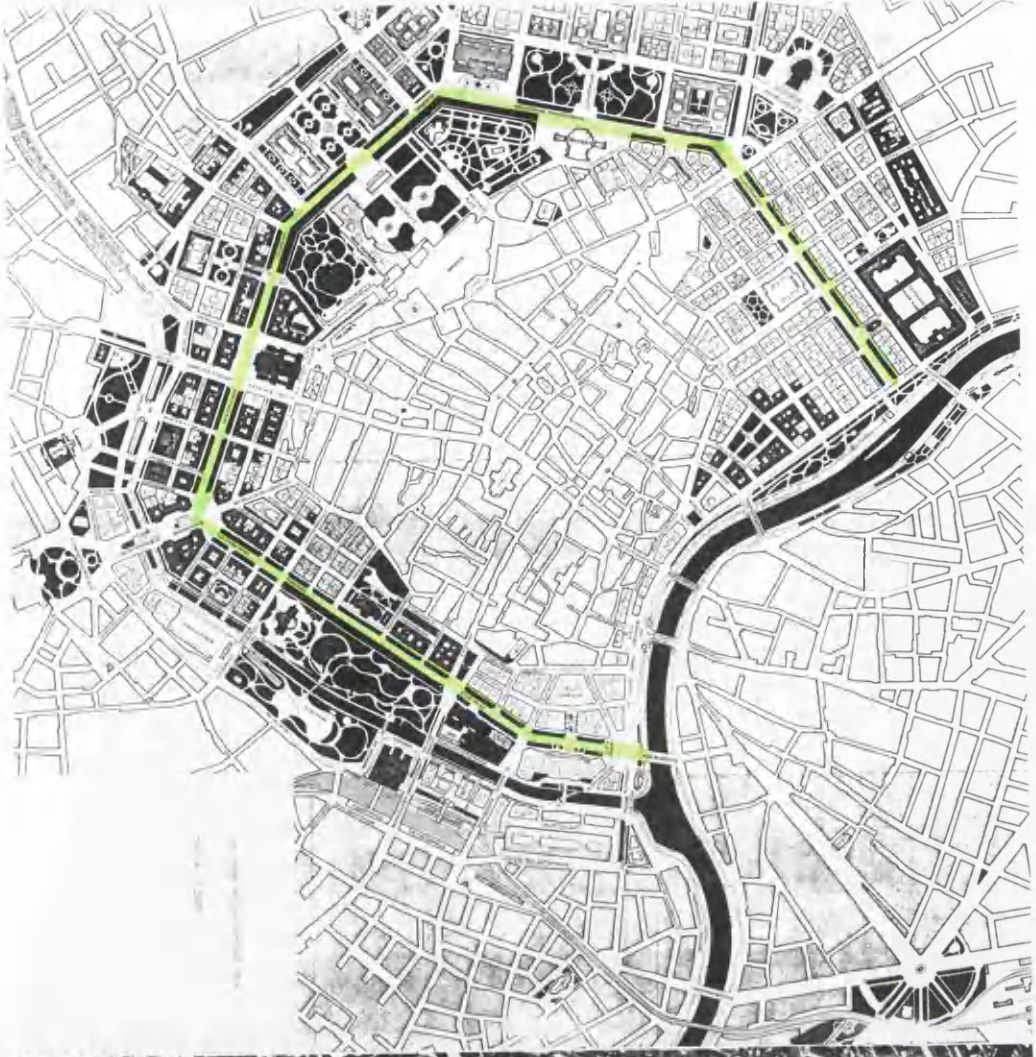
For the moment, Feldegg's recognition that both the first and second Renaissance were associated with plans for city expansion (in the first case beyond the inner wall, in the second the outer line wall of the city) must be more fully examined. The Ringstrasse development resulted from the Imperial Decree of 1857 to remove the medieval fortifications and in 1858 from the competition for its design. The often varied plans for the Ringstrasse envisaged a major ring avenue around the old city, the Danube riverside development along the Franz Josefs-Kai, an outer circle road to take extra traffic, the construction of a series of monuments along the main ring avenue, but little original

planning for large park developments and even less consideration given to the remodelling of the old city [I Bezirk]. The development of the Ringstrasse zone commenced with demolition of part of the fortifications in 1858. By 1890 the Ringstrasse development was complete with one significant exception.[101] As Wolfgang Mayer points out 'only the Stubenviertel with its Franz-Josef Barracks built between 1854-57 was first constructed after the turn of the century. Despite criticism ... it [the Ringstrasse] was also copied by many cities such as Augsburg (1862), Stettin (1873), Mainz (1875), Cologne (1881) and Danzig (1895)'.[102]

Although the Ringstrasse development commenced during Baron Haussmann's reconstruction of central Paris, and became recognized as one of the most significant urban reconstruction alongside Parisian developments, there were important differences. The Ringstrasse emerged out of a major architectural competition (as would later be the case with the second extension of the city in the 1890's). In contrast to Haussmann's grand boulevards which literally carved a straight line through sections of the old city, the Ringstrasse was horseshoe shaped or, more accurately sectagonal.(I.27) The full circle or ring was never fully completed architecturally, since the section adjoining the Danube canal failed to be developed in such a way as to form a harmonious part of the Ringstrasse itself. Unlike Haussmann's boulevards, there was no single perspective along the whole Ringstrasse; rather, there were sections of the Ringstrasse with their own perspective and, socially, different publics who inhabited or enjoyed these sections. In contrast to Haussmann's system, the Vienna development emphasized along some of its major sections an assemblage of monumental buildings in open spaces many of which were set back from the Ringstrasse. But like Haussmann's plans, the Ringstrasse decisively influenced the future shape of the inner city with the old city cut off by the Ring from its surroundings, and had a crucial effect upon succeeding debates on the future of the city, either in the

I.27

Ringstrasse 1914 and view from air : c. 1960



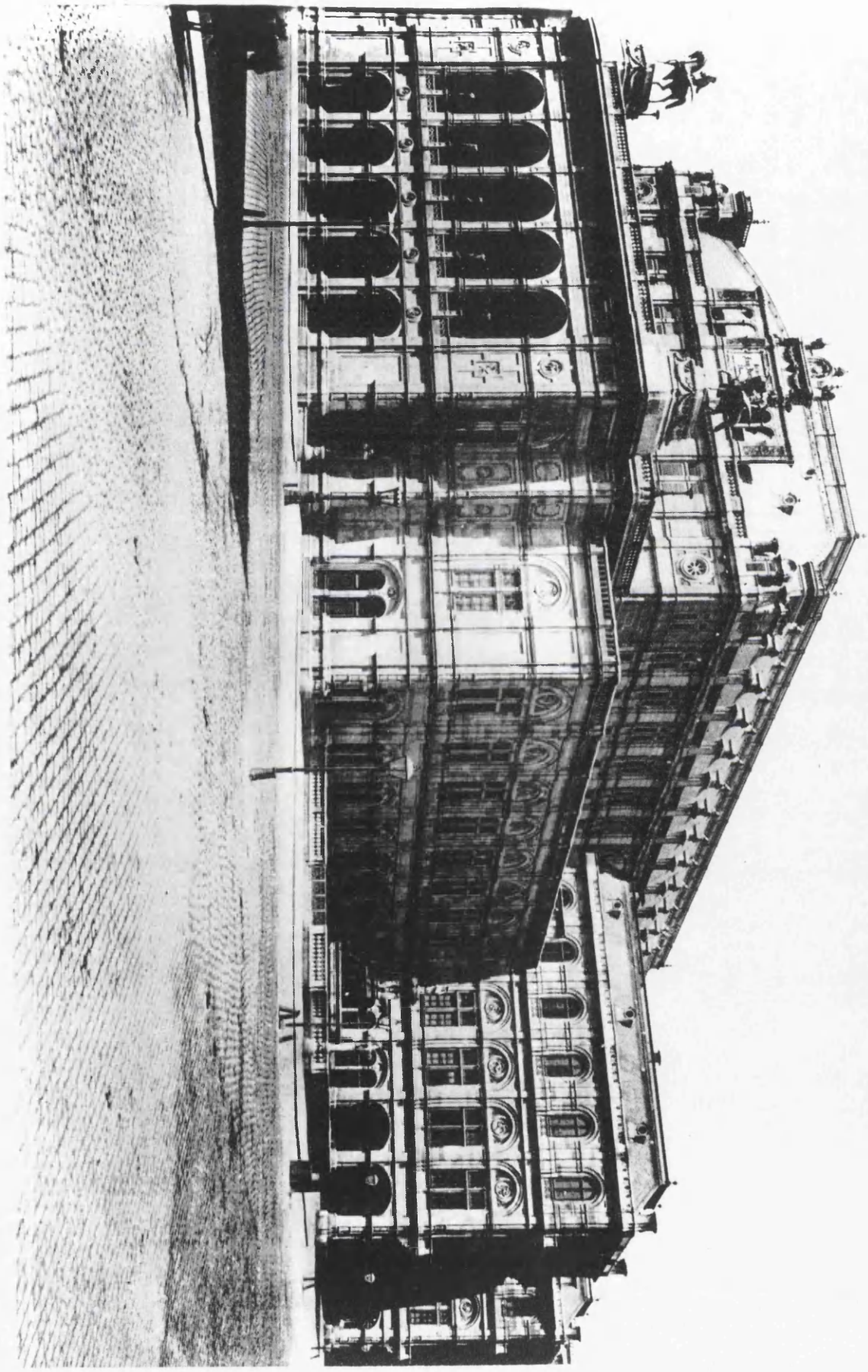
Stadtplan der Wiener Ringstraße, 1914

Luftbild der Wiener Ringstraße

sense of outstanding areas not yet fully developed (notably the Stubenviertel and adjacent to the Ringstrasse zone the Karlsplatz), or, more generally in circular conceptions of the expanding city of the future.[103]

The major monumental structures located around the Ring[104] (I.28,29,30) comprised the Arsenal (pre-Ringstrasse), the Military Museum (designed by Förster and Hansen in Moorish/Lombardy style), the Votivkirche (designed by Ferstel in French Gothic style), the University (designed by Ferstel in Renaissance style), the Town Hall (designed by Schmidt in Gothic style), the Burgtheater (designed by Hasenauer and Semper in Renaissance style), the extensions to the Imperial Palace (designed in various periods by Hasenauer, Semper, Ohmann and Baumann in Renaissance, Baroque and Imperial styles), the Parliament (designed by Hansen in Greek style) the Museums (designed by Hasenauer in Renaissance style), the Opera House (designed by van der Null and von Siccardsburg in Renaissance style), the Heinrichshof opposite the Opera - the most monumental of the Wohnhäuser along the Ring - (designed by Hasenauer), the Academy of Fine Art (designed by Hansen in Renaissance style and set back from the Ring), the City Park, The Academy of Applied Arts (designed by Ferstel in Renaissance style), and the Military Barracks replaced in part in the first decade of the twentieth century by the Ministry of War (designed by Baumann in Baroque style) and, during the second Renaissance and set back from the Ringstrasse, the only Modern structure from this later period the Post Office Savings Bank (designed by Wagner in Modern style). The original start and finishing points of the Ringstrasse testified to a huge military presence in Vienna. The subjugation of the Revolution of 1848 left a legacy of fear of revolution in Vienna and elsewhere which manifested itself in extensive militarisation of what was still a quasi-feudal and relatively slowly developing industrial capitalist society. Further extensive military forces were located adjacent to the major railway stations.

Nüll and Sicardsburg: Opera House (1869) I. 28

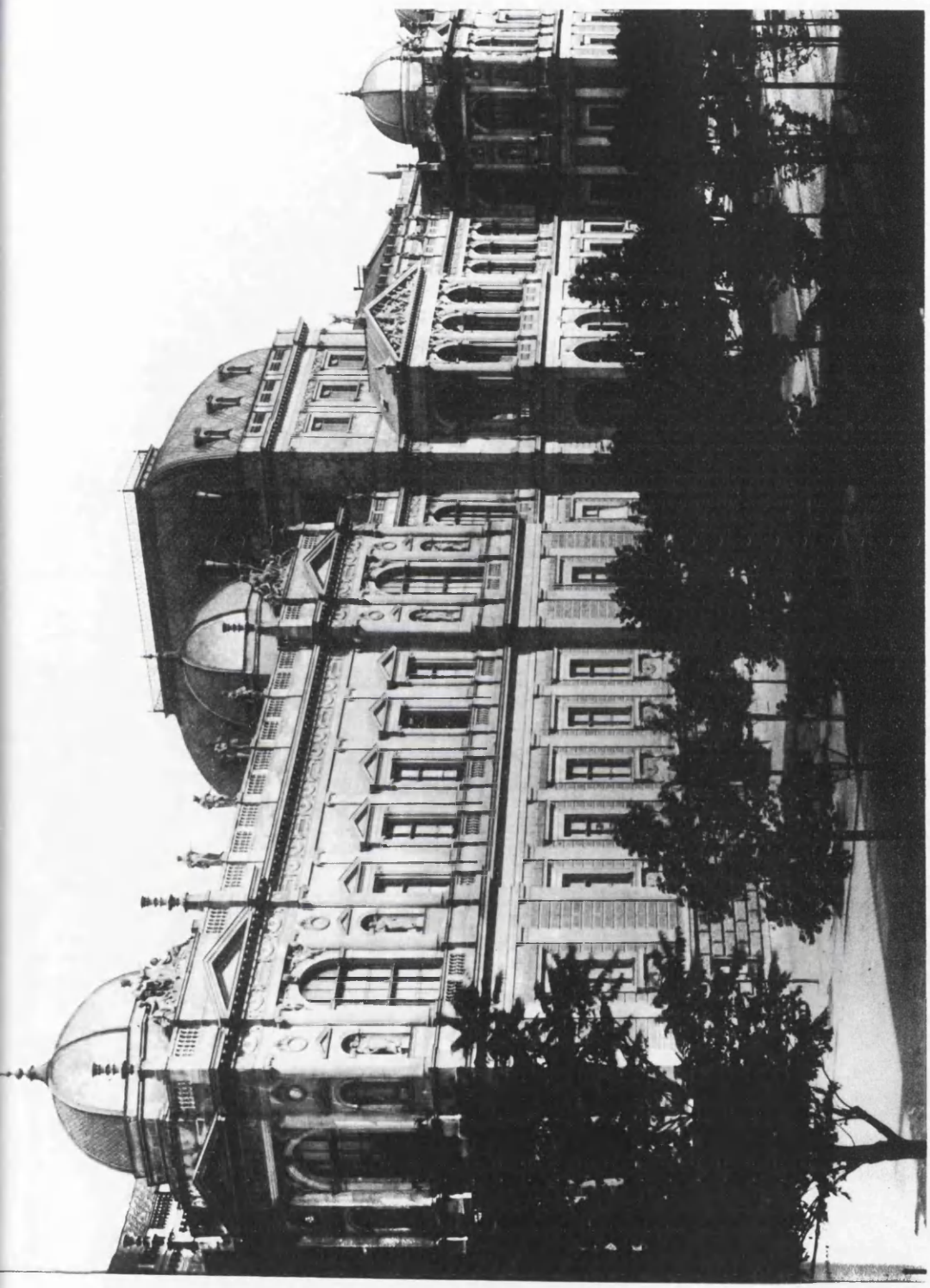


Above: Franzensring 1880
Below: Kolowratring 1879

Der Franzensring mit seinen vollendeten Monumentalbauten, 1888

Der Parkring gegen den Kolowratring, um 1875

Ferstel: University (1884)



What is missing from the list of monumental structures along the Ringstrasse are building types which contemporaries saw as a manifestation of modernity. Notably amongst these are railway stations and department stores. None were situated on the Ringstrasse and none are located there even today. The most dramatically visible railway station - albeit the city railway - was to be Wagner's Karlsplatz station in 1898, but this was not actually on the Ring although part of the Ringstrasse zone. Similarly, there is no building in the much debated 'modern' style completed on the Ring except Wagner's Post Office Savings Bank - and this too is set back from the actual Ring. Symbolically it is located opposite Baumann's Ministry of War building, which is on the Ring itself.

The whole Ringstrasse is sometimes referred to as a monumental Gesamtkunstwerk. Although it has become not uncommon to view a street as a work of art, or even a total work of art, the common features of the Ringstrasse are counterbalanced by features suggestive of differentiation. The case for the Ringstrasse as a Gesamtkunstwerk - predating that with which the concept is more often associated, the Jugendstil house, whose every element both externally and internally is in aesthetic harmony - is that it is a Historicist constellation of structures. As Schorske argues, the visual impact of the transformation of the city, given its concentration, was greater than that of any other major city at the time, creating the impression on the Ringstrasse of the massively new.[105] What is also true is that the Ringstrasse zone - and not merely the street - came to dominate architectural consciousness for several decades, and especially a longing for monumentality.[106] The Ringstrasse has also dominated historical research on Vienna to the extent of neglecting other developments outside the zone. To some of its contemporaries, such as Sitte, the Ringstrasse development was seen, despite some criticisms, as a largely felicitous achievement, substantial evidence of the artistic effect of planning and architecture, of the beautification of the cityscape.

However, the Ringstrasse as symbol and indeed realisation of Vienna's First Renaissance (to which incidentally Wagner made significant contributions),[107] and as a Gesamtkunstwerk requires further analysis. Feldegg's identification of the Ringstrasse with an aristocratic impulse is partly correct insofar as its monuments are directly or indirectly architectural and social representations of the domination of state institutions control of which remained aristocratic and bourgeois. The forms of leisure enjoyed within this dominant culture (theatre and opera) were the subject of state censorship. The local state was represented in the town hall, the imperial state in its Imperial palace, its military presence and in its parliament which can hardly be said in turn to have fully represented the Empire, either nationally or socially. The university was and remains a state institution in which its permanent academics were and are civil servants. Only the stock exchange stands as a capitalist monument, through even here, as Benjamin pointed out, 'the stock exchange can represent anything'.[108] A culture dominated by the aristocracy (and monarchy), the church (a state religion) and, very much in third place an emergent bourgeoisie, placed its emphasis upon the first two of these groupings - for the bourgeoisie had not proved unequivocally reliable in the Revolutions of 1848 (and nor had some of its architect participants such as Semper).

The differentiation of the Ringstrasse with respect to the diverse Historicist styles of its major monuments represents one dimension of its contradictory constellation. Socially, the extensive studies of the Ringstrasse by Elizabeth Lichtenberger and others (and this is by far the most researched street in Vienna, if not in any European capital) reveal that different sections of the street zone were populated by specific social and economic interests. The Ringstrasse viewed from above (the bird's eye perspective), and at a distance, may be seen as a totality but it does not express all the social groupings of society to the same extent in the cultural context of Vienna. As a symbol of the 'first' 'new' Vienna

and as the focal point of the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire - the largest land empire in Europe outside Russia with over a dozen different languages and ethnic/national groupings within it - the representation of the Empire posed specific problems.[109] In the context of what Hobsbawm has called 'the invention of tradition',[110] which traditions and whose traditions were to be represented was problematical with respect to contemporary Vienna. Perhaps this made the sometimes extravagant and varied recourse to monumental Historicism all the more necessary (in the confines of a single street) since recourse to past traditions/styles could give expression to specific building types and avoid reference to the present and the future. (How contentious this 'invention of tradition' was is indicated by the Hungarian Parliament where, with the establishment of the Dual Monarchy after 1867, Budapest's architectural representatives were often deliberately at odds with those in Vienna. The successful Parliament building project design in Budapest was thoroughly neo-Gothic - like the British Houses of Parliament - and deliberately not Greek as in Vienna).

Thus, the Ringstrasse as a total work of art even at its inception was problematical, not least in the context of an accelerating process of modernisation that is accompanied by increased economic, social and political differentiation. Under the circumstances, the architecture of the Ringstrasse zone, unlike the often aesthetically unappealing suburbs, could, as Schorske puts it, be 'screened in the decent draperies of preindustrial artistic styles'[111] but could hardly be said to represent fully this process of modernisation. Hence, both the monumental building types and their preindustrial stylistic cladding served to mask modernisation rather than display it. And, for the reasons described above, the creation of what Benedict Anderson - with reference to nationalism but applicable to other forms of representation of the state - has termed 'the imagined community'[112] was a flawed project in such an ethnically and linguistically divided empire. Most of all, the not infrequent calls

for a national style begged the obvious question as to which nation was to be represented in a particular style.

But the Ringstrasse zone on either side of the actual street was the site of a huge expansion of dwellings for the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, high state officials and higher professionals (including architects). Wagner himself lived in most of the buildings which he constructed in this zone (a practice not always favoured then or subsequently by architects). The prospects for urban capital accumulation in the Ringstrasse zone itself were immense, not least since highly favourable tax advantages were provided in the early years and, after the 1873 financial crash, in order to stimulate a continuous building programme. Within the zone, highly profitable court blocks were built (the new Höfe) as well as representatives of Vienna's dominant building type in this zone, the Nobelmiethaus, the Zinshäuser, Miethäuser and the Wohn-und Geschäftshäuser. The commercial and residential blocks could be quite differentiated structures as far as the profit differentials from their various floor levels were concerned. Again, the Ringstrasse as a street may have been a spectacle for those who promenaded along some of its favoured sections but it was not the monuments along it which were the actual dominant building type in the Ringstrasse zone - the interest bearing apartment and commercial block was the dominant building type. Outside the Ringstrasse zone, and away from the centre it was 'Miethäuser in the form of Zinskasernen'[113] - rented apartment blocks as interest bearing dwelling barracks - which contemporaries recognized as an expanding building type.

The domination of this particular building type and its variants was not a foregone conclusion and did not, even in the first years of the Ringstrasse development, go unchallenged. As Klaus Eggert has demonstrated, there was already in 1860 a proposal by Eitelberger and Ferstel for an alternative to the rented apartment block.[114] They maintained that this structure was characterised by countless windows destroying the mass effect of the

outer wall, maximization of number of rooms and neglect of auxilliary rooms and minimalization of space in the rooms. Their alternative (having travelled in England, Holland and Belgium) was the family house. Its positive features were the claim to individuality, for 'one's own possession, one's own house is the palladium of the family'.[115] Not only would the family house avoid the worst excesses of endless apartment blocks but also 'this enclosed nature of the private dwelling is not merely an aesthetic requirement in order to distinguish private houses from all types of public buildings but it is also a moral requirement ... of their own accord there emerges there in dwelling the separation of the sexes, the separation of domestic servants from members of the family, the parlour and drawing room from the actual living room ... It is equally necessary that ... in an appropriate manner the work rooms are connected to the living rooms'.[116] Such arguments for the family house, later supported by Trzeschtik and others, was opposed by Fellner (senior) on the grounds that the apartment block in Vienna, despite the speculation associated with such studies, could fulfil all the requirements of Eitelberger and Ferstel.

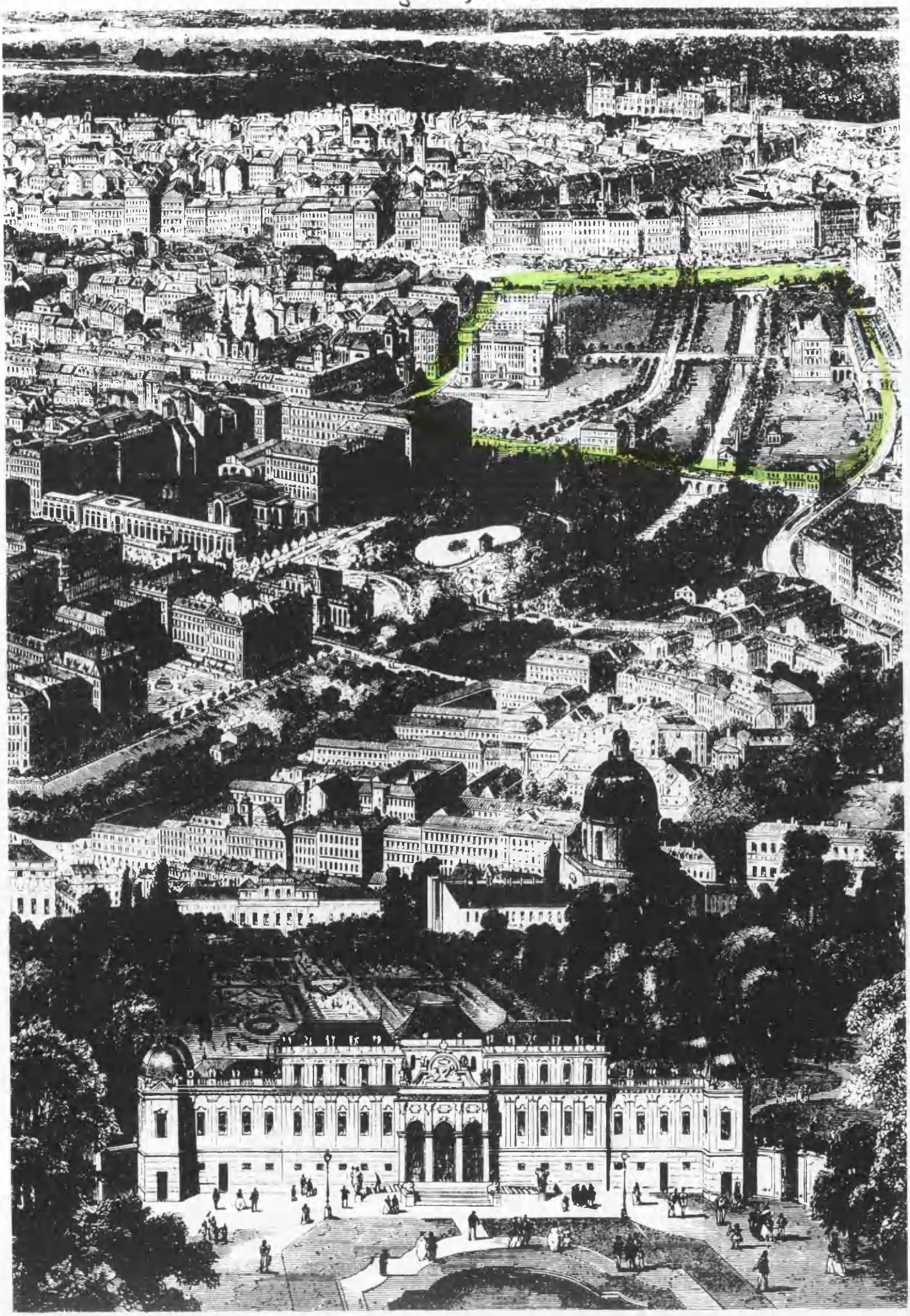
In the event, it was the rented apartment block which became the dominant dwelling type, not merely in the Ringstrasse zone but in the adjacent districts too. The experimentation with cottage developments was confined to a few areas (such as Währing from 1873 onwards as a result of Ferstel's initiative and the Türkenschanzpark development in the 1880s) and the villa districts remained very much in the prosperous suburban areas. Indeed, the various projects in this first enlargement of the city paid little attention to the suburban areas of Vienna. In the outlying districts away from the bourgeois dwellings the utilitarian structures for an emergent industrialization of Vienna - factories, power stations for gas, slaughter houses, storage buildings and the like[117] - were located with little concern for city planning norms. Nor were they to be especially highlighted in the plans for the second extension of Vienna in the early 1890s. For its part,

the original old city was designated for incursions as a result of the Ringstrasse development and the widening of streets in some areas. But in general, the inner core of the city did not experience a dramatic increase in new buildings, with few exceptions until the mid-1890s and, after 1900, with the completion of the last section of the Ringstrasse in the Stubenviertel (I.31).

In the old inner city, its commercial development was increasingly at the expense of dwelling space both horizontally and vertically (the expansion of commercial space to the second and even third floor of buildings. According to Lichtenberger,[118] the solution to this particular problem was the creation of a new building type in the period of high Historicism (1870-1890) which resolved the tension between space for commerce and space for dwellings:

> In fact it was not until in the period of high Historicism that this ambivalence of the inner city house was taken into account by architects themselves and the new building type of the dwelling and commercial building [Wohn-und Geschäftshaus] was created. Its first instance is to be found in the Kärntnerstrasse from the late 1870's and early 1880s.
>
> The vertical division of the elegant rented apartment block [Nobelmiethaus] in which, above the ground floor, the raised ground floor and mezzanine were to be found before the actual first floor, the elegant floor, was now reproduced in the dual separation of the dwelling and commercial house in a lower part serving commercial purposes and an upper part originally at heart reserved for dwelling purposes. Viewed from outside both were distinguished mostly by a horizontal cornicing and markedly elevated part and already also by the fact that in the commercial part glass fronts replaced the masonry and only small masonry pillars remained. Steel girder constructions made this building method possible. Several individual variations existed, although in general two or three storeys were reserved as the commercial section from the upper dwelling section. In particular instances there was also a tripartite architectonic separation of commercial tract, office tract and dwelling tract.[119]

View of part of Ringstrasse (Stubenviertel in green) from Belvedere: c. 1880



Once established, this new building type was no longer confined to the inner city but spread to other districts where appropriate. As we shall see, this building type together with variations on the rented apartment block were to be especially emphasized by Wagner, whose students were trained in their first year of architectural study to develop designs for such types. As Lichtenberger comments, it was 'Jugendstil in particular [which] created extraordinarily interesting architectonic solutions and in no period since the Baroque in the inner city is the kind of individual building to be found as in the decade before the First World War'.[120] (I.32)

The whole development of the Ringstrasse zone up to 1890 has been seen as 'a Gesamtkunstwerk (total work of art), a glittering via triumphalis symbolic of the capital. No longer was any distinction drawn between Inner City and suburbs, the whole being now divided into nine districts, excluding, however, the outer suburbs'.[121] Although this judgment has been questioned, for many contemporaries this was already the 'new Vienna'. This was the view of the editor of the then leading architecture journal in Vienna, Köstlin,[122] who in an extensive article written in the autumn of 1883 praised recent Ringstrasse developments and the building activity in the western suburbs 'which already now excel the city almost in new building activities' which will in turn only be accelerated by the introduction of the city railway (in fact this did not occur until over a decade later). In a subsequent article on 'Our New-Vienna' in 1885,[123] Köstlin recognizes that the rapid level of social, political and economic development prevents the emergence of a specifically 'national' style such as the Baroque in Vienna. Somewhat prophetically Köstlin maintained that 'the final resulting building style of the nineteenth century will be a different one, a new one and, despite the paroxysm of nationalities will not be a national one; it will be formed out of the giant constructive advances which the new building material of the nineteenth century has brought us, "iron".'[124] This will be 'the modern Renaissance', 'a specific new

Wohn- und Geschäftshaus am Graben: Wagner (1894) I.32

Vienna style', 'a specific Viennese modern Renaissance'.[125] For the present, however, Köstlin denounces the artificial palace architecture of both exterior and interior. But by 1890 Köstlin's regular review of architectural developments in Vienna came to focus upon the creation of another 'new-Vienna' - 'Gross Wien',[126] which means 'a second, spatially and materially much more significant enlargement of the city of Vienna', an expanding, unmeasured extension outwards'.[127] This second expansion of the city would require a regulation of development in the new and old areas. This extension of Vienna into a Greater Vienna was, thus, both the second new Vienna and the foundation for a second Renaissance. The Greater Vienna concept was already two decades ahead of Berlin, even though the latter had already dramatically exceeded Vienna in population expansion. When 'Gross-Berlin' was created in 1910 (and expanded still further in 1920), Wagner's Die Grossstadt of 1911 may perhaps be seen as a response from a city that had long been overtaken in reality as the dynamic capital of central and middle Europe.

VI

What were the major features of this second extension or enlargement of Vienna? Despite the somewhat uneven economic development during the previous two decades, and because of the effects of the agrarian depression in many areas of the Empire, the migration to Vienna had been significantly increasing.[128] In turn, this had stimulated building in the outer districts of the city (the eleventh to the nineteenth, the twenty first and twenty second districts). The incorporation of the outer districts of Vienna in 1890 trebled the physical extent of the city from 5,540 hectares to 17,812 hectares. This was to be succeeded by a further extension in 1904 by which the city's physical size extended from 17,812 hectares to 27,308 hectares (hence a further 60% enlargement).[129] But in the opinion of many

contemporaries this was not accompanied by the development of a real world metropolis, partly through the lack of adequate transport systems. Alongside the incorporation of former outer districts into the city boundaries in 1890, there was a call to regulate building in those areas and a call for a General Development Plan for Vienna. In addition, the pressing issues of the provision and regulation of transport systems in the enlarged new Vienna would have to address the Danube canal and, in particular the provision of a city railway system (which included regulation of the Wien river with a view to extending part of that railway along it or over it).

The incorporation of Vienna's former suburbs on 19th December 1890 now divided the enlarged metropolis into nineteen districts: I old city, II Leopoldstadt, III Landstrasse, IV Wieden, V Margarethen, VI Mariahilf, VII Neubau, VIII Josefstadt, IX Alsergrund, X Favoriten, and the new districts of XI Simmering, XII Meidling, XIII Hietzing, XIV Rudolfsheim, XV Fünfhaus, XVI Ottakring, XVII Hernals, XVIII Währing, and XIX Döbling. The first district, the old city around which the Ringstrasse zone had been developed was to experience a decline in its population even in the decade from 1890 to 1900, from 65,750 in 1890 to 58,503 in 1900. In passing it is worth noting that for Vienna as a whole the number of military personnel rose in the same period from 22,651 to 26,622, (thereby suggesting another interpretation of regulation of the city [Stadtregulierung] - regulating the citizenry - that was not the result of architectural or city planning intentions but social and political ones).

Of greater significance, however, is that in terms of populations in the metropolitan districts, the largest numbers by 1900 were in Ottakring with 148,652, Leopoldstadt, Landstrasse, and Favoriten.[130] Although much of the debate on city planning in the decade 1890 to 1900 and into the next decade still focused upon areas within the Ringstrasse zone (notably the Stubenviertel) or adjacent to it (Karlsplatz), it should again be emphasized that

the Ringstrasse development (with the exception of the Stubenviertel) was largely complete. This meant that new building activity was taking place elsewhere. The implications of this for locating the debates on the city are that building activity in the old city centre, although often prestigious, was never responsible for the largest proportion of new building activity after 1890. The focus upon the Ringstrasse zone, in this respect at least, is therefore misleading and neglects the remainder of the city. According to the annual building statistics,[131] the highest number of new buildings from 1891 to 1895 was in the second district, Leopoldstadt, close to the old city. From 1896 to 1904 the highest number of new buildings completed were in Hietzing, Leopoldstadt, Favoriten, and Simmering. Industrial building was also concentrated in this period in Leopoldstadt, and, above all, Favoriten. The major building project in the 1890's in any way comparable to the Ringstrasse development was the city railway (Stadtbahn). Given its unified architectural design by Wagner (and with the assistance of his students) it has as great a claim to be a Gesamtkunstwerk.

It should not be assumed that the districts outwith the Ringstrasse zone, and not merely the city railway project, were without architectural significance despite being outside the most obvious areas for representation of the capital and imperial residence city in the Empire. Further, aside from the still contentious areas of the Ringstrasse zone, discussion in the architectural association at least shifted to new transport systems, (including an underground railway), and to the periphery of the city, but noticeably, with relatively little discussion of worker housing. The latter is mirrored in the relative paucity in designs for mass worker housing in the period up to the First World War, with the exception of extensions of plans for cottage estates (which in fact benefited largely lower middle class strata). It is also reflected in the near absence of designs amongst Wagner's students in this period (although in the post First World War period, the majority of

architects working on the new mass housing projects in Vienna were Wagner's students)[132] and with very few exceptions in the avant garde journal Der Architekt (where Hubert Gessner - a Wagner student - was one of the few to have worker housing designs published there).[133]

The extension of the city in 1890, as we have seen, did bring about calls for regulation of the whole new city, but the issue of mass housing was not required to be specifically addressed in the competition for the Development or Regulation Plan for Vienna in 1893. Nonetheless, it was of necessity an issue for the new municipality and many of the 'new districts', already overstretched by inadequate resources and increasing population demands. The relationship between the working population in some of the former outer districts and the inner city illuminates the increasing significance of the urban circulation process. Whereas the Ringstrasse could be a manifest symbol of circulation of individuals and goods, it was in its most elegant sections a venue for leisured circulation and refined flânerie. And if, in turn, the Ringstrasse was symbolic of the separation of the old city from its adjacent districts, so there was also a real separation formed by the next 'ring' of the old outer fortification walls (the Linienwall), of the working classes from both the lower middle class and prosperous artisan strata in the areas immediately surrounding the Ringstrasse zone and the inner city. Again there is revealed here another dimension of the inside/outside dichotomy.

As Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pithofer[134] argue, this pre-1890 separation of the working population from the centre and 'the increasing problem of "wandering" from and to work in the city' was dysfunctional for 'the circulation of capital, urban growth and (mass) dwelling building'. In the outer non-incorporated districts before 1890 their growth in relation to 'inner' Vienna was characterised by:

> disproportionate growth in completely overstretched small urban districts; (danger of) slum formation; uncontrollable relationships

> (of registration); disproportionate rapid industrialization, since many industries moved into the outer districts because of cheap land/raw materials/means of production/labour force; partial flight of capital out of Vienna and loss of tax revenue for the city; chaotic destruction of nature and endangering of the classical aristocratic bourgeois summer resorts as well as the city through increasingly polluted streams and rivers; finally a threat too to the areas reserve for an ordered future extension of the city (ideally the "cottage").[135]

The city extension of 1890 therefore brought with it not merely formal problems of city planning and an architectural response to this extension but also new social, political and economic problems within the new city boundaries. The 'circulation' of the working population had to be facilitated by extension of old and provision of new transport systems, of which the renewed call for an integrated city railway was symptomatic. But as indicated earlier, the provision of mass housing by new means (other than the extension of the Zinskasernen), became a growing issue but one that can hardly be said to have been dealt with in this or the succeeding decade, except by occasional private and state initiatives.

The causes of the growing crisis in mass housing provision and consequent dramatic overcrowding casts an interesting light upon this and other sectors of the building industry in Vienna in this period. In his study of housing in Vienna in this period, Peter Feldbauer[136] concludes that 'the housing scarcity in the rapidly growing Vienna of the nineteenth century was in fact not so much a problem of income or taxation but rather predominantly a question of land, building costs and finance'. In the case of the cost of land, as Feldbauer points out, 'in the suburbs and in the outer district areas a maximum of 12-15% of the building costs of a rented dwelling block could be attributed to acquisition of building land' It is even possible that the costs of land as a proportion of total costs was declining since mid century. However, one of the main reasons for the housing scarcity was,

> compared with other branches of industry and commerce, the extremely high costs of production in the building industry ....

> The extraordinarily rapid rise in production costs which increased by around 38% along between 1877/78 and 1893/94 and, during the inflationary phase of the last pre war years, rose more quickly than the prices for all other goods, were directly connected to the low organic composition of building capital, or expressed differently, with the above average wage costs of the building sector, i.e. the absence of industrial modernisation of the building trade. It was thus less the material costs than the rising wages of building workers which, as a result of the specific organisation and technical structure of the building industry, made the erection of dwelling blocks more expensive. The most important explanations for the retarded modernisation of this branch of the economy are the above average strong trade cycle and seasonal fluctuational dependency, the lack of elasticity between the supply and income available demand in the housing market and, between 1848 and 1914, the almost stationary strong fragmentation and small-trade structure of the building trade. It is worthy of note that the Viennese building trade was still split around 1900 into twenty different lines ... Mechanisation and serialized production was almost totally absent until the First World War, although the appropriate technology was already known for some considerable time.[137]

Although Feldbauer's argument is with reference to the housing sector, his remarks on the structure of the building trade and its lack of applied technical advance is applicable more generally to the building industry as a whole, as is substantiated by other studies of the building industry in this period.[138] The implication of this absence of 'rationalisation' - a term not used in this period - of the building industry is that where major projects were undertaken, as in the public sector with substantial transport system construction the full cost would have to be born with little or no technological cost advantages. Hence there was an inbuilt tendency to save on production costs since they were relatively inelastic. The prospects for a new monumental architecture that could compete with the Ringstrasse development were constrained by the inability to raise substantial funding in the same manner. The horizontal concentration of the building industry that was especially evident before the financial crash in 1873 and the effectiveness of the building financing companies remained weak up to 1914.

In this respect, the submissions for a General Development Plan for Vienna are significant not merely for what they are referencing but also for what are submerged but nonetheless important issues for the expansion of the Vienna metropolis. The discussion of housing reform did intensify as a result of the 1890 city extension, but it did not have a major impact upon the outlines for the new metropolitan Vienna that its significance warranted; especially since some of the submissions were already suggesting what proved to be unrealistic projections of the future growth of the 'new' Vienna metropolis.

But even before the competition for the General Development Plan was announced in 1892, there were those who saw the significance of the enlargement of the city for the future of Vienna. In an anonymous article on 'The new public works in Vienna' (1891),[139] the author outlines the more general context within which the new developments must be seen:

> For a considerable time it has no longer been a secret that for some years now the economic development of Vienna has been at a standstill, a standstill that in no small part can be traced back to the remarkable structure of the internal political circumstances of Austria. It has been emphasized quite correctly that the agreement between Cisleithania and Transleithania and the dualistic structure of the Empire in 1868 has acted like an amputation for the lands this side of the Leitha. And hardly had Cisleithania recovered from the blows of this political fate, there came the slavic-federalist system to dominate internal politics, which in particular contributed to major damages to the capital city of Vienna, which, in contrast to the rapid development of the Hungarian capital could not keep pace with the latter. [...]
> Today, where with the opening of the new art historical royal museum the last of the works then [since the great artistic rebirth of Vienna' - the Ringstrasse development D.F.] undertaken - for the completion of the Hofburg cannot be expected in the foreseeable future - the artistic resurrection of Vienna now connects with its technical and economic resurrection. And the former requires the latter as absolutely and urgently necessary. Vienna requires the rapid circulation of blood in its economic veins.[140]

This may be a view of Vienna from a distance since it is published in Berlin but, as so often in the Viennese discourse, the economic context hardly comes to the fore. This is particularly true, perhaps for obvious reasons with Sitte's reflections on the new Vienna that is to emerge as a result of the 1890 city extension.

In his 'The Vienna of the Future' (January 1891),[141] Sitte contrasts the two extensions of the city from the late 1850s, in the present day, and for the future. Prior to the first city extension, the Ringstrasse development, the annual average number of new buildings in the whole city was only around 22 and reconstructed buildings around 27 on average 'whereas a few years after the city extension had commenced, the number of new buildings had risen to more than 300 per year, a number which for both new and rebuilding structures can be seen at least as constant since 1883, and in fact referring exclusively to the suburbs'.[142] In general, the first development must be viewed as largely positive in its outcome. But at the present time, the dangers for future development of the city extension can be seen, theoretically at least, from Stübben's Städtebau volume which recognizes the huge technical progress in questions of transport, administration and hygiene as well as fine monumental structures that have been erected. However, Stübben's work also reflects and praises the recent domination of the land 'parcelling system', 'the checker board-like line up of almost equally large building blocks, and, the 'mechanical rastering of all our modern city plans'.[143] For Sitte the obvious defects of such a rigid parcelling system are the lack of regard to natural circumstances (e.g. terrain) for transport, permanent traffic blockages in countless grid crossing streets, lack of protection against wind and weather, wastage of building space, wastage of architectonic effect for public buildings (in the centre of squares instead of being set back from the square), lack of enclose of all squares, the surrounding of all public gardens with streets, impossibility of introducing diverse building groupings (e.g. horseshoe development), difficulty in erecting picturesque monuments and fountains, and

lack of means of orientation for traffic. These ten defects are all attributed to the parcelling and checker board (grid system), producing whole city districts that are 'prosaic and mentally deadening'.

For the future city extension plans Sitte insists upon an open competition for projects that are able to take into account the whole terrain, culture, existing structures, social needs, etc. in the form of an official collection of data on all these and other relevant materials that would be available to competitors. The availability of such data would avoid the illusion that modern city plans be confined to outlining the major traffic arteries. In contrast, Sitte insists that the structure of old cities was 'basically a product of their historical development under, one might almost say, instinctive cooperation of age-old artistic traditions' whereas 'the modern growth in city planning brought us the geometrical square network of street lines'.[144]

A plan for the future of Vienna would, in Sitte's view, have to respect the historical nature of the old inner city as well as recognize the economic potential derived from the completion of the regulation of the Danube. In this context, Sitte anticipates that

> the long projected railway connection between England and the continent and ... the bridge over the Bosphorus at Constantinople will some day be carried out .... Then, however, an unbroken railway line will run from England to India and Vienna will form the gateway between East and West on this most important street in the world[145]

Although this might take a half century, a city plan for Vienna must take account of this future possibility and construct 'a major elegant commercial quarter on the Danube at the Reichsbrücke' (complete with fine squares and monuments) with a central railway station. In addition, 'upstream a villa district can be conceived of and downstream, following the mind direction, a factory district'. This new Danube city 'in conjunction with the old town would surround the Prater as the most beautiful and greatest city park the like of which

would be nowhere else to be found, and would equally close the outer ring of the second city enlargement, just as the majestic palace with its huge square and its monuments formed the dazzling completion of the first city enlargement'. Such a vision must replace the spread of 'settlements with rented apartment blocks of the meanest sort'. A future plan should therefore have a vision of the future that is not confined to an extension of existing 'inferior needs of the present day.

Although Sitte conceives of a new Vienna (I.33) that will be a major commercial centre, his reflections here and elsewhere still rest upon a somewhat simplified contrast between on the one hand, the 'natural city' as 'a piece of living nature, like the mountain and the forest', 'a piece of history, like an old cathedral', and 'a big family house' handed down from generation to generation and, on the other, the 'modern city' with its 'beautiful, straight street', 'with beautifully equally tall houses' and 'the naturalism of city planning'.[146] The modern city cannot compete with a pedigree from nature, history and the family. The modern city is governed by abstraction, mathematics and levelling. To 'the geometry man' everything must be precisely measured and repeated endlessly, including the regulation of nature itself. The product is 'such a monster of regulation of the level' of nature, buildings, streets in the name of necessity. Yet 'all these disembowelments of the city and straight lines in accordance with breadth and height are not merely a necessity but often too they are merely a fashionable illness of out times'.[147]

Yet despite this insistent negative contrast between the ugly new and the aesthetically attractive old in the city, it is Sitte who raises an important dimension of the metropolis prior to the competition for the general regulation of Vienna, namely its external representation. In an article devoted to the major railway stations in Vienna - and the first impression and representation of the city which they offer - Sitte insists that 'a metropolis must also be capable of representing itself outwards'. Just as a palace makes much of its

Morgen- und Abendblatt in unserer Expedition, I., Schulerstraße 17 abzuholen.
Monatlich . . . . . 1 fl. 50 kr.
Vierteljährig . . . . 4 fl. 50 kr.
Mit täglich einmaliger Zustellung in's Haus:
Monatlich . . . . . 1 fl. 60 kr.
Vierteljährig . . . . 4 fl. 80 kr.
Mit täglich zweimaliger Zustellung in's Haus:
Monatlich . . . . . 1 fl. 75 kr.
Vierteljährig . . . . 5 fl. — kr.
Einzelne Exemplare in Wien:
Morgenblatt . . . . . 4 kr.
Abendblatt . . . . . 3 kr.
Redaktion:
I., Eleyrerhof Nr. 3, 1. Stock, (Eingang Rothenthurmstraße).
Expedition, Administration, Inseraten-Bureau:
I., Schulerstraße Nr. 17.
Manuskripte werden nicht zurückgestellt.

Neues Wiener Tagblatt.

Demokratisches Organ.

Morgen- und Abendblatt mit täglich einmaliger Postversendung:
Monatlich . . . . . 1 fl. 50 kr.
Vierteljährig . . . 5 fl. — kr.
Halbjährig . . . . 10 fl. — kr.
Ganzjährig . . . . 20 fl. — kr.
Mit täglich zweim. Postversendung:
Monatlich . . . . . 2 fl. 20 kr.
Vierteljährig . . . 6 fl. — kr.
Halbjährig . . . . 12 fl. — kr.
Ganzjährig . . . . 24 fl. — kr.
Für das Ausland.
Mit täglich zweimal. Postversendung: Für Deutschland vierteljährig 8 fl., für Montenegro, Serbien vierteljährig 7 fl. 50 kr., für alle ausländischen dem Weltpostverein angehörigen Länder 9 fl.
Inserate vom Auslande übernehmen die Firmen: J. Tanneberg, M. Tulek, Haasenstein & Vogler, A. Mosse, A. Oppelik und H. Schalek in Wien; ferner „Invalidendank" in Dresden, Daube & Cy. in Frankfurt a. M., A. Steiner in Hamburg, Agence Havas und Jouve & Co. in Paris u. s. w.

Nr. 265. Sonntag, den 27. September 1891. 25. Jahrgang.

Die neue Stadterweiterung.

Von Camillo Sitte.

Die zunächst vor uns stehende Aufgabe in Betreff der großen Neugestaltung Wiens ist zweifellos die Herstellung eines Generalregulirungsplanes. Gerade diese Aufgabe kann man sich aber nicht schwer genug vorstellen, nicht ernst genug nehmen. Die ganze zukünftige Entwicklung wird durch die zarten, unscheinbaren Linien dieses Planes vorherbestimmt. Welche ungeheure Verantwortung liegt da auf den Schultern derjenigen, welche berufen sind, an einem solchen Werke theilzunehmen. Das Pulsiren des öffentlichen Lebens, aber auch die Behaglichkeit am häuslichen Herde; Gesundheit und Wohlfahrt der Bevölkerung, aber nicht minder die Freude an der Schönheit und Zweckmäßigkeit der Vaterstadt, diese Wurzel schönen patriotischen Stolzes und gesunden Heimatsgefühles, alle diese wichtigen Dinge stehen in festem Zusammenhange mit dieser ersten Gesammtanordnung des Aufbaues. Die Anforderungen, welche man gegenwärtig an einen solchen Plan stellt, sind ungleich höher als noch vor nicht ganz fünfzig Jahren, als man noch meinte, Alles gethan zu haben, wenn einige Normalstraßenbreiten und Häuserhöhen vorschriftsmäßig festgesetzt und alle Straßen kreuz und quer schön gerade und schön senkrecht aufeinander gezogen wurden. Recht bequem wäre dieses Verfahren auch heute noch, denn etliche Gemeinderathsbeschlüsse über Hausblockgröße und ähnliche gewaltig wichtige Punkte dazu fertiggestellt, könnte man dann einen solchen sogenannten Stadtplan in Gemüthsruhe vom Amtsdiener herunterraspiren lassen. So bequem, wie man es sich noch bis vor Kurzem bei uns und überall machte, geht dies aber nicht mehr, denn die gesammte Oeffentlichkeit verwirft bereits dieses Häuserkastensystem, das in seiner Verkörperung langweilig bis zum Ueberdruß nur Wind und Staub und Verkehrsstörungen bietet, während es zugleich die Aufstellung von Monumenten und die wirkungsvolle Gruppirung von Gebäuden geradezu unmöglich macht. Alle Welt stellt heute überzeugungsvoll die Forderung, daß es in einer neuen Stadt nicht nur gesund und zweckmäßig, sondern auch behaglich und angenehm wohnen sein soll; daß sich der Plan den gegebenen natürlichen Bedingungen anschmiegt, daß Abwechslung in den Stadtbildern entstehe, welche charakteristisch wirken und die Orientirung erleichtern soll; daß vorhandene Fernsichten und sonstige Schönheiten zur Geltung gebracht werden und überhaupt die ganze Flächen- und Raumgliederung auch nach künstlerischen Grundsätzen erfolgt; daß Silhouetten, Verschneidungen und Perspektiven berücksichtigt werden, ein stetiges Fahren und behagliches Spazierengehen ermöglicht wird, was Alles wieder ein förmlich ziffermäßig statistisches Studium der Verkehrsrichtungen und der Lebensbedingungen der Bevölkerung voraussetzt, sowie ein genaues Eingehen auf das von der Natur aus Gegebene, auf Wind, Himmelsrichtung und endlich sogar auf dasjenige, was unter der Erde steckt: Baugrund, Grundwasser, alte Festungsfundamente oder Gräben &c.: daß nicht, wie bei unserer ersten Stadterweiterung, Millionen in den Unwesen eines Stadtgrabens zu Fundirungszwecken spurlos verschwinden, während gleich gegenüber eine Riesenfläche besten Baugrundes für Grassamen und Gebüsche ausgewählt werde; kurz, der Stadtplan darf der vorhandenen Natur nicht gewaltsam aufgenöthigt werden nach irgend einer willkürlich vorgefaßten Meinung, sondern er muß aus der Natur selbst heraus entwickelt werden, genau so, als ob eine Jahrhunderte lange allmälige Entwicklung das wie von selbst zu Stande gebracht hätte. Was bei den alten Städten in Wirklichkeit naturgemäß gewachsen ist, das muß heute auf dem Papiere eben so wachsen und das ist die ganze ungeheuere Bedeutung eines modernen Regulirungsplanes. Ihn naturgemäß auf dem Papiere wachsen zu lassen, wie ein Werk der geschichtlichen Entwicklung, das ist beinahe mehr noch, als höchste Kunst, und doch ist das diejenige Forderung, die mit aller Schärfe gestellt werden muß, wenn dereinst das Werk den Meister loben soll.

* * *

Schon der erste Schritt, mit dem man an diese Aufgabe herantritt, ist entscheidend. Es frägt sich kurz und bündig: Will man die neue Stadt erstehen lassen als Kunstwerk oder nur als Menschenmagazin? Falls man das Erstere nicht mit vollem Bewußtsein der ganzen Tragweite dieses Wortes, nicht mit eisernem Ernste will, so ist jede Mühe vergebens, schade um jedes Wort, das Künstler, Kunstfreunde, Kritiker, Patrioten vergeuden, die Sache wird ewig ein Flickwerk, eine nüchterne Stümperei bleiben. Falls man aber wirklich den großen Willen zu fassen vermöchte, daß die neue Stadt, wie ein Naturprodukt als wahres Kunstwerk erstehen soll, dann frägt es sich zunächst noch um mehr als um den Generalregulirungsplan, dann frägt es sich vorher noch, wie ein solcher Plan in Angriff zu nehmen sei und wer ihn machen kann. Die Antwort scheint leicht: Einen Plan, der ein Kunstwerk sein soll, kann nur ein Künstler machen. Richtig! Aber das hier zu Leistende ist so übermenschlich groß, daß die Aufgabe von einem Einzelnen gar nicht bewältigt werden kann. Auch dafür scheint der Ausweg schon gefunden, denn man spricht schon allenthalben von Kommissionen und amtlichen Vorarbeiten geradeso wie von großartigen Konkurrenzausschreibungen zum Behufe der Ermittlung der richtigen Künstler. Beide Faktoren glücklich gefunden und richtig vereint, müßten auch in der That diejenigen Kräfte darstellen, welche die ungeheure Aufgabe bewältigen könnten. Das Wesentlichste dabei ist nur gleich von vorneherein die richtige Abgrenzung der Befugnisse, die naturgemäße Arbeitstheilung zwischen dem Künstler einerseits und dem Bureau anderseits. Man muß sich vorerst klar werden darüber, was nur der Künstler allein leisten kann und das Bureau nicht und umgekehrt, und darauf allein müssen alle Anordnungen gestellt sein, ohne die geringste Rück-

entrance rooms, so 'representation for a major city it is also important for it to possess a favourable entrée alongside public elegant spaces (so-called artistic or architectural squares)'.[148] This issue of representation of the metropolis is of primary significance in the second enlargement of the city since, ostensibly it already possessed imposing monumental structures (and a picturesque old inner city) constructed during the first city extension (above all the Ringstrasse development). This is one reason why the second enlargement of the city and its aftermath in terms of new architectural developments was so contested. The city's 'second Renaissance' which Feldegg detected was, like the modern movement, deeply contested at the time and in the succeeding decade. In this respect, too, the often neglected relationship between the consequences of city planning and architectural developments should be given due attention.

VII

The international competition for a General Regulation Plan for the whole of new Vienna was announced in October 1892, with a competition for the disputed Stubenviertel (the last section of the Ringstrasse) preceding the general competition by several days. The Stubenviertel competition generated 30 submissions from the Mayreder brothers, Wagner and others and the initial winner was the plan submitted by the Mayreders. However, after considerable political activity and conflict in the city council, it was eventually Wagner's plan for the Stubenviertel that was accepted in 1894 after Wagner (together with Stübben) had won the competition for the General Regulation Plan. Mayer postulates that the reason for this change in decision 'lay, on the one hand, in the fact that Wagner, in the course of the general competition was able, through information derived from unofficial channels, to obtain detailed wishes that he could take into account in the reworking of his

project and, on the other hand, perhaps also his very influential personality'.[149] The parcelling of the Stubenviertel was subsequently agreed in July 1895 but only after the demolition of the Franz-Joseph Barracks in 1898 was new building commenced which continued until the outbreak of war in 1914. Within the Stubenviertel, Wagner was able to build his Post Office Savings Bank, but it was Ludwig Baumann who built (against competition from Wagner, Loos and others) the larger Ministry of War on the Ringstrasse itself.

The general competition resulted in 15 submissions, of which in February 1894 the prize committee unanimously chose as joint first prizes Wagner's project titled 'Artis sola domina necessitas' and Stübben's project 'Die Wienerstadt' ('the Viennese city'). Like many of the other submissions, Wagner's and Stübben's plans for the expanding city were conceived as a series of ring roads on the west bank of the Danube, with the difference that Stübben's was more practical 'since his suggested ring roads (Ring, Gürtel, suburban ring, hillside ring) was adapted to the terrain conditions and therefore could be carried out technically without particular difficulties. His recommendation to lay out a part of the hillside ring as a panorama road according to the model of the viale dei colli in Florence was later taken up in the form of the Höhenstasse in the Wald-und Wiesengürtel (Forest and Meadow Belt)'.[150]

Other proposals which did not come to fruition were the Mayreders' plan for a worker's district of small rented blocks and workers' hotels, or (for many decades later) their proposal (along with Wagner and others) for an underground railway and Fassbender's proposal for a 'people's ring road for Vienna' [ein Volksring], a 'green meadow common' (which was taken up in the 1910 competition for Gross Berlin).[151]

Two years later Karl Mayreder won the competition for the regulation of the inner city and his plan remained in force until the Second World War. The adverse economic

circumstances ensured that his plan would lead to a minimum of disturbance of the historical centre of the city, thus, in part at least, keeping within the framework of the competition: 'The regulation of the inner city must take into account the satisfaction of modern traffic needs, but in so doing where possible however to preserve historical or artistically valuable objects'.[152]

The response to these competitions, as far as Sitte was concerned, was largely negative. With respect to the Stubenviertel competition, Sitte lamented 'the lack of concern for old Vienna, this lack of concern for the world famous Viennese cosiness [Gemütlichkeit]'.[153] His judgment of the two winners of the general competition was even more cynical. These two projects 'excel one another by their specific manifest one-sidedness ... Wagner's project in its architectonic decorative relationship, that of Stübben's in the direction of transport technology and constructive aspects'.[154] With regard to Wagner, 'one could term O. Wagner, with his broadly constructed facades and his extraordinary talent for architectonic decoration as perhaps the Viennese Makart of the rented apartment palace [den Wiener Zinspalast - Makart]'. Like his earlier exhibitions and publications, his project is 'purely illusory city plan fantasies', full of pompous squares that are actually 'as it were flattened huge street(s)' as envisaged for the area around the Karlskirche.

> In addition and still remarkable is Wagner's relationship to Stübben, whose book he has apparently taken to be authoritative ... with [its] precise knowledge of the metropolitan building office ... [its] reference book on everything possible is very useful ... but not at all appropriate for extracting principles from it since Stübben himself does not have any at all.[155]

Sitte was not alone in holding such views. Another competitor Goldemund (later a significant figure in city planning in Vienna), claimed that

> Otto Wagner appears to be a fanatic of the straight line in humpbacked nature, as if on a street directed in a straight line, it must be directed uphill and downhill with broken lines of

> evenness must appear misunderstood and ugly through this unnatural constraint .... A great architect is not always also a city planner in the broader sense, where it is not a matter of partial solutions to predominantly architectonic formation.[156]

Such judgments of Wagner's competence as a city planner are not confined to his contemporaries. Schweizer also judges Wagner's submission to the competition

> to possess the least value as planning, although it is characterised by high aesthetic quality in details (elevated construction of the city railway, the Stubenviertel regulation with the Post Office Savings Bank). Otto Wagner saw in the competition, as he himself emphasized and as was confirmed by his critics, primarily an architectural task. Constraints resulting from the existing political, economic and social situation were as little taken into account by him as the specific planning problematic of the temporally realisability of his recommendations.[157]

Whatever the verdict on such a judgment, there are nonetheless other reasons for looking in greater detail at Wagner's project for the competition. It is only Wagner's second significant publication after the 1889 presentation of his works with a very brief introduction. It provides the most detailed outline of Wagner's conception of the metropolis prior to his Moderne Architektur and his much briefer outline in Die Großstadt (1911). It also constitutes the key text upon which Wagner was to build for the publication of his Moderne Architektur in 1896. For all these reasons it is worthy of further analysis, even leaving aside the fact that it was a project which won first prize in a crucial competition for Vienna's future formation. It was, in turn, not irrelevant in the choice of Wagner to succeed Hasenauer as Professor of Architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in the summer of 1894.

VIII

Wagner's preparation of his submission to the competition for a general plan for Vienna was preceded by a significant outline for the regulation of the area around the Karlsplatz and the Elizabethbrücke (Elizabeth bridge) (I.34,35) in June 1892, significant not least because the Karlsplatz proved to be the most contested area of Vienna's 'second Renaissance'. The Karlsplatz was to be the site of one of Wagner's more striking city railway stations (originally Akademiestrasse, now Karlsplatz), a cafe (Cafe Museum) by Adolf Loos and, at its boundary with the Wienzeile, Olbrich's Secession building, but not any of Wagner's other plans for a museum, department store, hotel or variants of his general design for this square.[158]

In the form of an open letter in June 1892, following the city council's rejection of a project for the city railway along the river Wien since it did not fully consider the aesthetic requirements of such a project especially in the area of the Karlsplatz, Wagner argues for a railway project subject to careful aesthetic considerations. How such a project may be carried out requires first a rejection of 'an inheritance of tastelessness .. which we have indulged in with remarkable consequences since the period of the 1850's. Namely, it is the planting of all free squares with so-called "English parks".'[159] Instead of picturesque trees and bushes, we should consider 'the shortest way and on a straight asphalt path through colonades, rows of trees, arcades, arbours etc.' to our destination. The aesthetic effect of modern open squares (as in Paris, London and other major foreign centres) as well as Renaissance squares (as in Rome) should be encouraged in Vienna, especially in front of 'the Karlskirche, Vienna's most beautiful building!' However, the buildings in such open squares must stand in proportion to the squares themselves (and not be too large as in the case of the Rathausplatz or the Votivkirche Platz). Furthermore, the building structures in

I.34
Karlsplatz
and
Elizabeth
Bridge:
c. 1880

I.35
Karlsplatz
1900

the vicinity of the Karlskirche (in the Obstmarkt, and Heumarkt areas) are especially ugly and therefore the whole Karlsplatz area should be regulated by separating it into specific spheres (the outer Schwarzenbergplatz, the Karlskirche Platz, the Technische Platz, and the Kaiserin-Elizabeth Platz). Wagner pays particular attention to the restructuring of the market areas, especially the Naschmarkt at the northern side of this area (where the Secession building was constructed); to the restructuring of the Karlsplatz with a small railway station, colonades and monuments parallel to the Technical University; electric lighting in the major square areas and gas lighting only in the market halls and other detailed recommendations. In general, Wagner insists upon the principle that

> Appropriateness to ends [Zweckmässigkeit] indeed always remains the main object according to the viewpoints of the present and in all periods this was how building was undertaken, as the period required and as it was capable of achieving.
> Hence, these new constructions should connect both reverently and aesthetically to our old architectural structures, but should at the same time nonetheless reveal [zeigen] and represent our period.[160]

Wagner here announces one of his central themes in his Moderne Architektur, namely the problem of representation of the modern period, modern life and the modern metropolis. His conception of the modern metropolis is itself revealed more fully in his submission to the general competition of 1893.

Wagner insists that the general plan requires that the architect, railway engineer and waterways engineer should work together on such a comprehensive project, but that, as an architect, he has 'obviously placed the main emphasis upon the artistic side of the question' of the future of Vienna, not least because 'without the aesthetician, without the artist the question is insoluble' if we do not wish 'to deliver to our Vienna, as in recent years, almost complete tastelessness'.[161] The recommended mode of building is one which does not dramatically contrast building block heights and where as in radial streets and main arteries

there are broader streets and higher buildings, the latter should not exceed the breadth of the former. In turn the breadth of the street should be broken up for our eye contact with street lamps, quays, etc.

If we contrast the developments elsewhere, Wagner maintains that Paris in the past two centuries has owed part of its prosperity to its art and Germany too has made significant advance on the past two decades, whereas in Vienna 'we must concede with true shame [that this aspect] is registering a constant regression'.[162] Although genuine architects do exist in Vienna, there are many instances of lack of artistic sensibility and tastelessness that 'hourly celebrate new orgies', often in the 'style of engineers and stone masons'. The poor quality of buildings may be attributed partly to the fact that, although there are 2,360 persons actively engaged in carrying out building work, there are 360 ostensible architects but, Wagner contends, there are hardly 60 architects worthy of the profession.

The beauty of the city is not fostered either by the preference for 'picturesque streets'. It is true that

> Our times demand large scale traffic arteries; that a beloved corner must fall is indeed self-evident; but it is just as equally certain also that what is new can be created beautiful [...]
> The straight, clean practical street, occasionally broken by monumental structures, squares of appropriate size, beautiful, significant perspectives, parks, etc., that leads us in the shortest time to our destination is also by far the most beautiful'.[163]

Concurring with Stübben's arguments for the straight street, Wagner insists that 'our realism, our traffic, modern technology today imperiously require the straight line'. Such traffic systems are therefore necessary in order that building streets and human beings can fit together in the modern metropolis. When Henrici argues that there is nothing more boring than the straight line, Wagner's reply is that there is nothing more beautiful than the straight line of the Parisian boulevard 'filled with a surging crowd with all the countless

vehicles. If this street line had breaks in it then it could only lose in its effect'. Wagner's image is, significantly, that of a richly populated street and not the empty straight street. This is also how Wagner drew most of his streetscapes in his designs.

Vienna has been overtaken by Paris and Berlin with regard to 'cleanliness of streets, attractiveness and general mode of building'. Nonetheless,

> 'the basic conditions for making Vienna one of the most beautiful cities in the world are present: situation, picturesque surroundings, a large number of quite unequalled beautiful and interesting architectural monuments, these jewels of Vienna merely await a beautiful setting'.[164]

How this can be achieved requires that no public building development be left in the hands of bureaucrats, that the architectural profession's designation of 'architects' be protected by the state, and that traffic systems not be left solely to engineers.

Wagner's proposed regulation plan is divided into two sections dealing with the future external formation of the city and the improvement of the existing inner city with regard to 'beauty, traffic and hygiene'. 'The future extension of the city should be facilitated by the simultaneous fixing of radial and ring lines (instead of merely along radial lines, producing what was later to be termed 'ribbon development', and achieving a building density not conducive to building ring roads). The radial systems is to be connected with a diagonal system

> 'which allows us to reach our goal by the closest way and in the shortest time and removes from the world the bad chequered board building mode. Parks, churches, public buildings, monuments, viewpoints etc., in conjunction with the solution outlined above, will remove any boredom from the cityscape, ease orientation and assist us in saving the two most important modern factors "time and money"![165]

For its part, the inner city must be assured of its beauty, traffic and health according to modern requirements. This involves the maintenance of symmetry where possible and the

avoidance of the illusions of the small town idyll within the metropolis. In this context, Wagner points to a number of contradictory tendencies:

> Although the distinctiveness of a city never allows itself to disappear, [it is the case] that the mode of building dwellings must sink down more and more to a schemata, since the conditions of existence of human beings in metropolitan centres are daily becoming more alike.[166]

This levelling or formal equalizing tendency becomes a recurrent theme in Wagner's conception of modern life and its impact upon architecture and the built environment. The schematic similarity posited here, however, is qualified by the fact that

> the future cityscape cannot at all be precisely indicated, since a catechism of city planning does not exist. Much must be given over to 'look at what has arrived!'[167]

On the other hand, Wagner by no means favours complete arbitrariness here since

> Whoever hopes to find in a city regulation plan the replica of many people's image of small towns, with their acknowledged picturesque colours and light effects and their beloved nooks succumbs to a powerful error.[168]

But in the context to some of his critics' caricature of his position, Wagner does not favour Haussmann's radical city planning solution either since

> Radical regulation, such as Haussmann carried out in his times in Paris, is for us neither required by general needs nor by the conditions of traffic and, over and above this, would consume such sums of money ... whose granting cannot even be contemplated.[169]

Indeed, again, although Wagner's position is often seen as a plea for the straight line development, it is ring road development which first receives his attention amongst the detailed aspects of his development plan.

Wagner envisages four ring roads for the Vienna of the future (down to 1930): the existing Ringstrasse which is incomplete in its present horseshoe shape and which must be given a definite beginning and end (with monuments); the Gürtelstrasse (which follows the

line of the earlier outer fortifications) which is an aesthetic disaster and lacking in completion over the Danube canal and a terminus on the left bank; a new 80 metre wide outer ring road projected by Wagner; and a fourth external ring road (which would become significant in 30-40 years time) that should commence from the first Gürtelstrasse. The ring road, already acknowledged to be effective in the recent competition for regulating Munich, has a more general advantage for Wagner, as 'a rational [rationelle] method of modern metropolitan planning', one which - together with the linking diagonal streets - is repeated in his outline for the future expanding city in his Die Großstadt in 1911.[170]

The second detailed proposal is for the regulation of the Wien river flowing from the Stubenviertel to Schönbrunn and beyond. In the Stubenviertel section (I.36), Wagner recommends replacing the existing Danube bridge - the Aspernbrücke - with a new bridge aligned with the axis of the Ringstrasse and a new location of the existing building blocks, in which the existing trade ministry covers a land area large enough for a new trade ministry, a post office and post office savings bank. This restructuring should be undertaken without the ubiquitous purchase of expensive land and the building of cheap structures - interest bearing blocks [Zinskasten] - that 'involve an architectonic lie'. The second section of the Wien river in the Karlsplatz sector should remove the bushes and trees obscuring Fischer van Erlach's Karlskirche in order to create a fitting open square. The third section along the Zeile should be an imposing avenue for traffic, pedestrian promenades with an arbour planted with wild vines, in short an avenue comparable to Berlin's Unter den Linden. It requires monumental constructions creating an elegant avenue above the regulated river and underground railway that would terminate at the Schlossplatz in Schönbrunn. If completed in this manner (only the regulated river and the semi underground city railway were completed), then it would be an avenue the likes of which would be possessed by few cities.

ler großen Entwicklung der Verkehrsmittel alles Zufällige fehlen, ndererseits aber darf der Hebung des Verkehres nicht Alles um Opfer gebracht werden, so vor allem nicht die Schönheit nd Wohnlichkeit der Städte. In erster Linie sind ja doch lie Städte dazu da, daß Menschen darin menschlich wohnen. Nachdem aber fast alle in einem General-Regulirungsplane zu rstattenden Vorschläge vornehmlich aus öffentlichen Mitteln ausgeführt werden sollen und der Bevölkerung daher ein Controlsrecht über die Art der Verwendung der von ihr aufgebrachten Gelder zusteht, so muss stets ein richtiges Verhältnis zwischen dem effectiven Nutzen und den Kosten solcher Unternehmungen bestehen, wobei allerdings nicht oft genug betont werden kann, daß Schönheit und Großartigkeit einem solchen effectiven Nutzen beigezählt werden müssen.

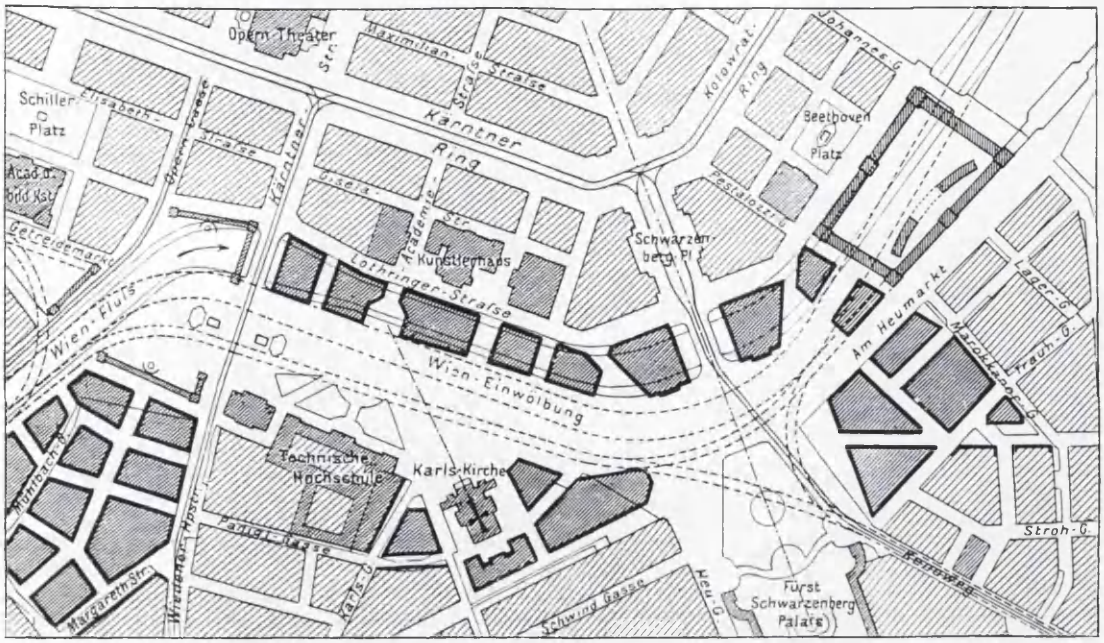


Fig. 5. Entwurf Wagner's für den Stadttheil am Wienflusse, 1:7500.

Wenn aber Jemand, wie schon erwähnt wurde, als Verlängerung der Praterstraße eine Avenue zum Stefansplatz plant, welche die Hinwegräumung von mindestens 100 Häusern im beiläufigen Werthe von 30 Millionen Gulden erfordern würde, so kann der Projectant unmöglich Rücksicht genommen haben auf die geringe Leistungsfähigkeit unserer Stadt, welche trotz Wiens, fast dreißigjährigen Wollens nicht im Stande war, die Kärntnerstraße auf die gering bemessene Breite von 30 Klafter zu erweitern, obwohl Niemand die wirthschaftliche Rentabilität dieses erst stückweise durchgeführten Planes leugnen kann. Deshalb kann auch jenem Projecte für eine Stefansthurm-Avenue nicht durch irgend ein materielles Rentabilitäts-Calcul auf die Beine geholfen werden, denn hier handelt es sich um absolute Summen, welche selbst für sehr nothwendige Arbeiten nicht da sind, geschweige denn für Phantasiegebilde. Selbst wenn es gelingen würde, Privatunternehmer für diese Idee zu gewinnen, so wäre die Durchführung derselben nicht nur vom ästhetischen Standpunkte, wie früher erwiesen wurde, sondern auch vom ökonomischen Standpunkte allein schon eine Schädigung für Wien, weil dadurch ein Riesencapital werthvolleren Unternehmungen entzogen würde.

In dieselbe Reihe ist der Vorschlag zu stellen, Wien mit einer Hügelstraße großartigen Styles zu umgeben, ähnlich wie die Viale dei Colli das schöne Florenz umschließt. Wer würde nicht für Wien eine ähnliche reizvolle Anlage wünschen? Bekanntlich aber war dieser grandiose Straßenbau nicht zum geringsten Theil mit Schuld am totalen finanziellen Ruin der einstigen italienischen Residenz. Wenn auch Wien leistungsfähiger als Florenz ist, so würde jene Hügelstraße auch viel länger und damit umso theurer werden müssen; und wegen ihrer größeren Entfernung vom Stadtcentrum hätte sie auch beiweitem nicht jene Bedeutung für Wien wie die Viale dei Colli für Florenz. Daß man aber bald daran gehen muss, alle jene saumpfadähnlichen Bauernwege an der Peripherie unserer schönen Stadt zu meliorisiren und theilweise zu wirklichen Straßen umzubauen, ist selbstverständlich. Ferner wird man dabei an eine logische Aneinanderreihung dieser Straßen denken müssen und so wird sich bald eine Kette von Hügelstraßen herausbilden, wie sich eine solche auch in unserem Projecte findet. Doch wurde sie von uns nur in den ihr angemessenen untergeordneten Verhältnissen projectirt und vielleicht deshalb von Vielen, die unser Project studirten, ganz übersehen.

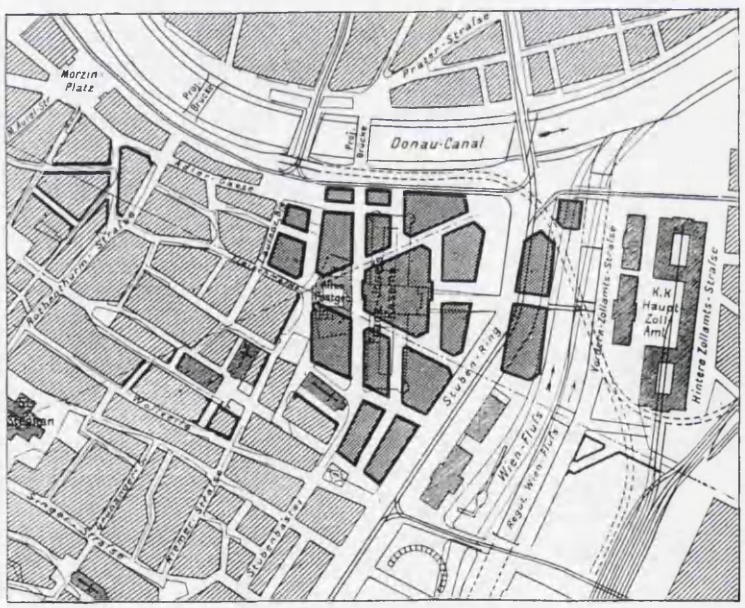


Fig. 6. Vom Stadtrathe angenommener Entwurf Wagner's für die Verbauung des Stubenviertels, 1:10000.

Noch weniger wie mit einer solchen Riesen-Viale dei Colli könnten wir uns mit dem Vorschlage befreunden, einen dritten und vierten Gürtel von nicht weniger wie 80 *m* Breite um die Stadt zu legen. Solche Straßenzüge finden sich in einem der Projecte eingetragen und zeigen da in sehr coupirtem Terrain gerade Strecken von einigen Kilometern Länge. Vom Autor selbst wird zwar betont, daß eine Detaildurchbildung noch viele Aenderungen nöthig machen dürfte, andererseits tritt aber derselbe Projectant ganz besonders warm für die Anwendung der geraden Linie ein. Wenn nun diese in einem Terrain wie Dornbach oder Neuwaldegg auch nur auf die drei- oder vierfache Breite dieser Straßen eingehalten werden sollte, so würde trotz bedeutender Auf- und Abträge nur ein Längenprofil mit einer Unzahl von Gefällsbrüchen zu erzielen sein, die bei breiten monumentalen Straßen bekanntlich viel störender wirken, wie Brüche in den Richtungsverhältnissen. Rechnet man zu den Herstellungskosten einer solchen projectirten Hügelstraße oder eines äußersten Gürtels von so und so viel Kilometer Länge und 80 *m*

O. Wagner: Reconstruction of Stubenviertel (Fig. 6) and regulation of Wien river (Fig. 5)

In more general terms, the future Vienna must take greater account of the significance of monuments. In this context, Wagner provides a revealing outline of the reasons why monuments are important to the modern metropolis:

> The major transport facilities, politics, trade, industry, art etc., the conditions of life in general, have structured [dimensioniert] our modern metropolitan centres in a manner that was not the case in any other period. Since the rental arrangement has taken the place of one's own home, this characteristic trait has also been displayed in the mode of building, which is why it is not at all surprising that the building structure for this arrangement has largely become quite uniform and hence also extremely boring. Many such buildings place alongside one another must therefore as a consequence be significantly more boring.[171]

Again Wagner places great emphasis upon the levelling and uniform features of modern living that manifest themselves in architectural representations. What is unusual in this line of argument is the conclusion which Wagner draws from this increasing uniformity associated with modernity, namely the desire for the monumental as a transcendence of this levelling process. In passing, there is a certain affinity here with Max Weber's characterisation of modernity as a process of progressive rationalisation and one of the ways out of this uniformity is conceived as charismatic leadership.[172] The argument for monuments as producing a 'charismatic' effect could easily be made. Wagner's conclusion is more modest, namely that

> The demand of human beings for beautiful distraction is therefore already conditioned by our modern building mode. Art has access to very powerful means in order to achieve this, indeed it is even in a position to assign to such rows of buildings a square in the modern cityscape as a desirable resting place for the eye. Amongst these means available the major role is ascribed to architectonic and figural monuments; they are, as it were, the focal point of art in city construction.[173]

Unfortunately, Wagner maintains that monuments that are effective through their perspectival impact as a symphony in relation to other building structures do not exist in Vienna, which has so often commenced from the false premise of first creating a personal

monument (eg. to Radetsky, Mozart or Goethe) and then seeking an appropriate square. The population increases in major metropolitan centres should not imply an excessive proliferation of monumental structures (even a city of one or three million inhabitants 'can have only one royal residence, one parliament, one university, one town hall, etc.').[174]

One of the monumental structures to which Wagner significantly devotes attention is the military barracks. His view is that in keeping with the increasing population the Vienna garrison would have to be raised to accommodating 50-60,000 troops by 1930 (a correlation which does reveal Wagner's concern for the configuration of existing power structures and the problem not merely of regulating the space of the city but also the masses who inhabit it). The anonymous, uniform mass of individuals in rented accommodation as consumers of often constrained urban and architectural space could also become a threatening mass movement. Wagner maintains that whereas 'from a strategic standpoint' their exercise squares should be distributed throughout the city, the modern barracks (which Vienna does not possess) could, as a result of the new means of transport and communications, be located in the city periphery.

The barracks are often located on prime building land and therefore some existing garrisons (eg. on the Heumarkt, Alsergrund, Meidling) could be relocated on the city periphery. However, this leaves a special problem of modern military life to be solved by Wagner:

> The relocation of barracks to the outer reaches of the city on financial and spatial grounds is made possible today by the modern achievements of the telegraph, the telephone, railway connections, etc. and indicates only the single grievance that the Imperial and Royal officers are too removed from the life of the metropolis. A redress for this could be offered by the long desired Officers Casino in association with a self administered officers' Hotel. The specific building block which I have found for this purpose is in the Josefstädterstrasse in the VIIIth district.[175]

The military as a significant sector of 'modern life' is presented by Wagner as an unquestioned feature of modern urban life. Later, during the First World War, in search of a symbolic monument to the multinational empire Wagner was to choose the shell of the long-range guns that produced their own levelling on the battlefields.

There are two remaining areas in Wagner's general plan that illuminate his conception of modern urban life: public health and transport systems. Wagner notes that Vienna is at the bottom of the league of cities with a million or more inhabitants in Europe with regard to sanitation, though new water supplies from the mountains have reduced the death rate. With respect to parks and gardens, Wagner maintains that there are good hygienic reasons for large public parks given the impossibility of providing small house gardens (a feature of Sitte's urban plans). The two public health provisions which Wagner goes on to examine are hospitals and cemeteries and their location. Wagner proposes that hospitals (with the exception of isolation hospital) should be well distributed in the city ideally between two radial arteries (with the exception of a proposed extension of the main teaching hospital, the Allgemeine Krankenhaus in the Alserstrasse, and a mental hospital to be located in the forest - to which, subsequently, his Kirche am Steinhof was a contribution). However, he notes a general shyness with regard to hospitals which his proposals cannot take into account:

> There is no denying that a certain shyness towards these institutions exists on the part of the major park of the city population. Whether this only derives for the poorer classes as their probably last resting place, for the well off sections in relation to fear of infection or in general is brought about through empathy is really not decisive.[176]

Wagner's own later design for a hospital indeed suggests that he was unable to address this issue. The location of cemeteries also exercises Wagner's concern. Although three or four on the periphery of the city would be better than a single central cemetery, the most

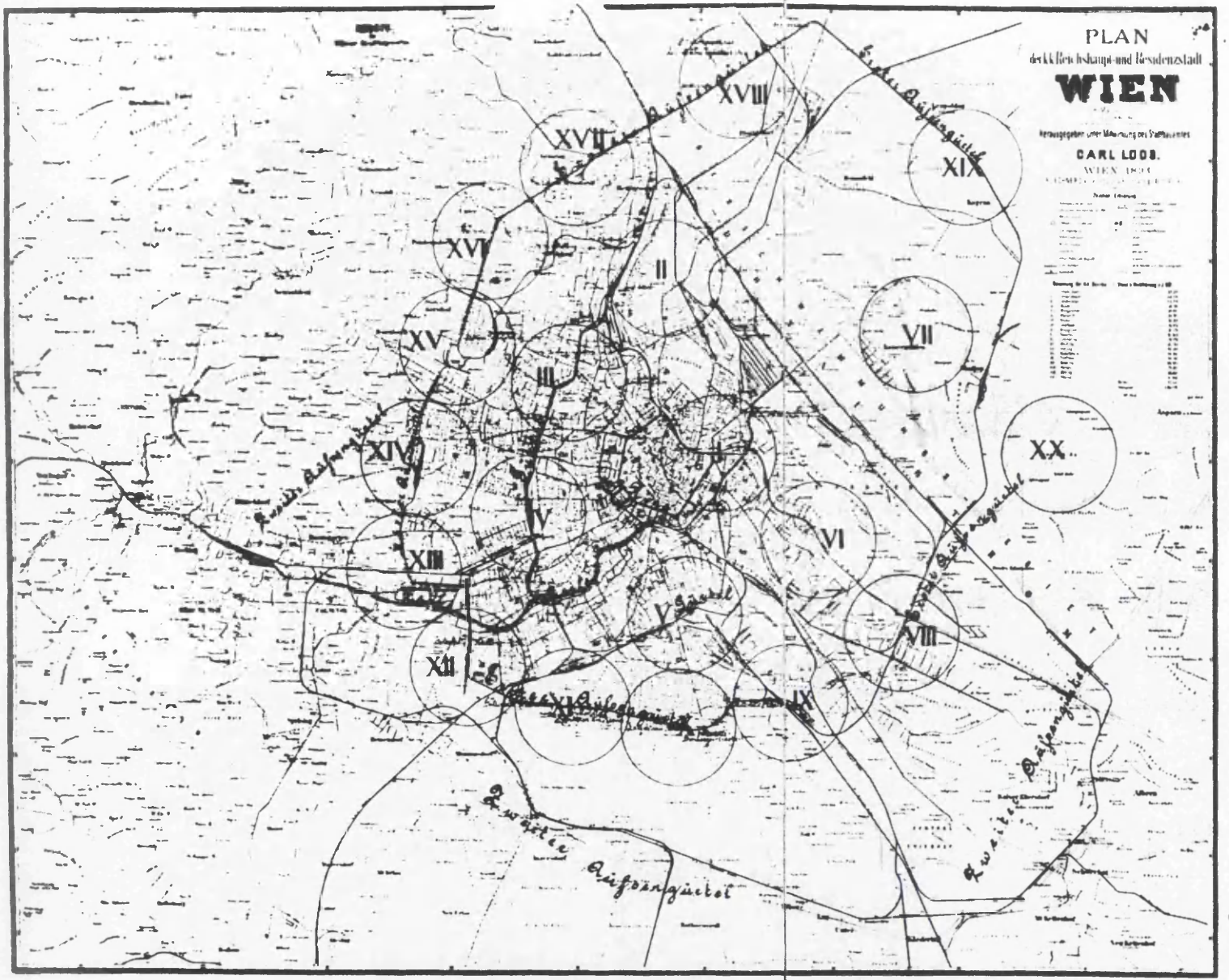


Abb. 147, 70, 29 *Generalregulierungsplan, Übersichtsplan*

appropriate terrain in Vienna is in the southeast of the city, 8 kilometres from the city centre. Therefore the question of the transportation of corpses is an important one even though 'it is certain that in the short or long term cremation will be approved'. Wagner proposes a series of mortuaries throughout the city (he also conceives of more general collection places [Stellen] distributed throughout the city) (I.37) from which corpses may be transported by the local rail network to the central cemetery. But this is, of course, not the main purpose of his proposals for a public transport system!

Wager recognizes that the siting of proposed rail lines and stations will have the greatest effect upon the future structure of the Vienna cityscape. The proposed existing lines leave some districts uncovered (X and III Districts) and others (such as I District) with too much transport. Wagner maintains that the planned underground railway is not desirable for the inner city, nor is a Ring line which would destroy 'our most stylish street line'. Taking account of the difficulties with tramway systems in Paris and Berlin, and recognizing that the electric tram will be the city transport of the future, Wagner favours for the present time a combination of omnibus and rail connections. These must be laid out not merely for the present but with the future in mind when, on present projections the population of Vienna will have reached 3 millions by 1930. But, given the impact which Wagner's designs for the Stadtbahn system had upon the Vienna cityscape, his general proposals for traffic systems are here largely unimpressive.

IX

In contrast, the appointment of Wagner as artistic adviser and architect for the city railway and agreement on his sketches for the railway in April 1894 in 'simple Renaissance form'[177] led to the construction of what was, in effect, Vienna's second 'ring' road, a city

railroad with around 30 railway station, viaducts and bridges all designed by Wagner and his students with variations but a consistency of style.[178] More appositely than the first Ringstrasse, the Stadtbahn may be termed a total work of art [Gesamtkunstwerk]. Wagner insisted that he had completed around 2000 plans and designs for the Stadtbahn, some of them in co-operation with his students. The city railway was officially opened in May 1898, though not fully completed until 1900. It consisted of four (effectively three) lines: the suburban line [Vorortlinie] from Unter-Döbling (June 1895) to Penzing (November 1896); the Danube Canal-Wien river valley line from Hütteldorf (November 1896) to Brigittabrücke (Friedensbrücke 1900); the Gürtel line from Heiligenstadt (October 1895) to Nussdorfstrasse (August 1896); and a fourth (dismantled line), in the second district with stations at Radetskyplatz (February 1899) and Praterstern (March 1899).[179] (I.38)

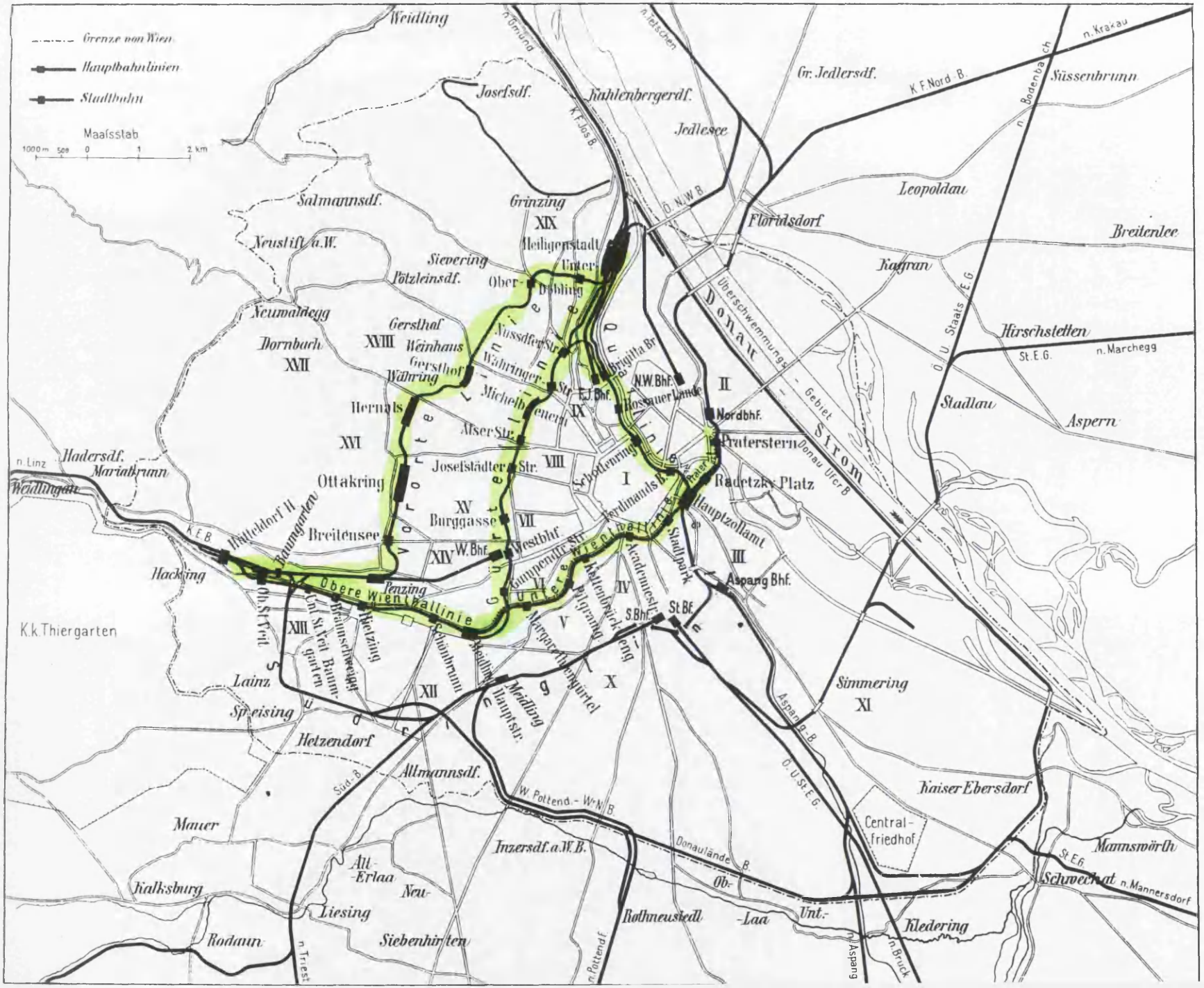
If the aesthetic impact of the (renovated) Stadtbahn is what most impresses us today, it should not be forgotten that, for Wagner, it had a practical significance aside from its role in the circulation of individuals around the city. As Hermann Czech has noted,

> The stations of this railway, according to Otto Wagner's General Regulation Plan, were to have been important centres for the surrounding district. Alongside personal transport, they were to serve the distribution of coal and building materials, the removal of refuse and snow, and in addition to contain fire stations and mortuaries.
> If this conception was in fact not realised, nonetheless its expression is indeed to be found in the imposing elevated railway stations of the Gürtel and suburban line'.[180]

This manifestation of 'a grand optimistic conception of the metropolis' possessed significant defects which Czech identifies:

> The state as the major financier neglected, for strategic reasons, the radial lines that would have led directly to the centre. There thus emerged a system of rings with contact with one another, but the city centre remained unincorporated.
> In the course of this, even this planning was only partly carried out. What was left out were the lines from the Praterstern to Nussdorf along the Danube and from Karlsplatz to the Schottenring'.[181]

LINIENPLAN DER WIENER STADTBAHN.



City Railway lines

I.38

Here, Czech's reference to 'strategic reasons' might lead one to conclude that, although the earlier fortifications along the Ring and the Gürtelstrasse had been removed, their new transport networks served still to preserve the inner city from rapid direct access.

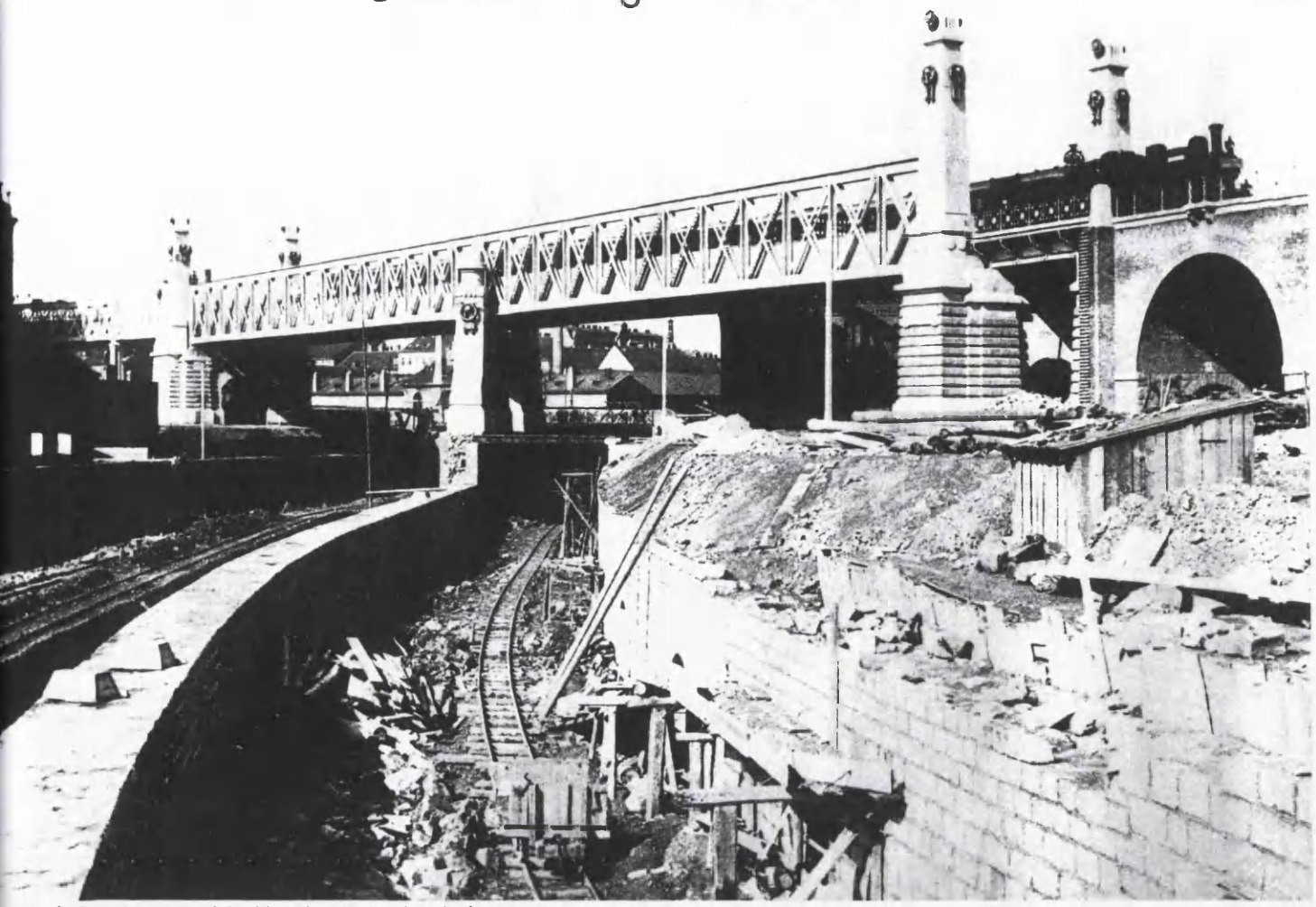
If the claim is made that the Stadtbahn is a Gesamtkunstwerk then it is one which constitutes not merely an aesthetic but also a practical totality. Again, to cite Czech, who, with some exaggeration, maintains that,

> The major elevated and underground railways of the turn of the century were purely engineers' constructs even though on occasion artists were also included for their fitting out. As the achievement of an artist, as a key work of a great architectural pioneer, the Vienna Stadtbahn stands alone in the world. The requirements of technology, through Wagner's confident language of forms, were not merely not adversely affected but fulfilled in the most complete manner - and made visually immediately intelligible'.[182]

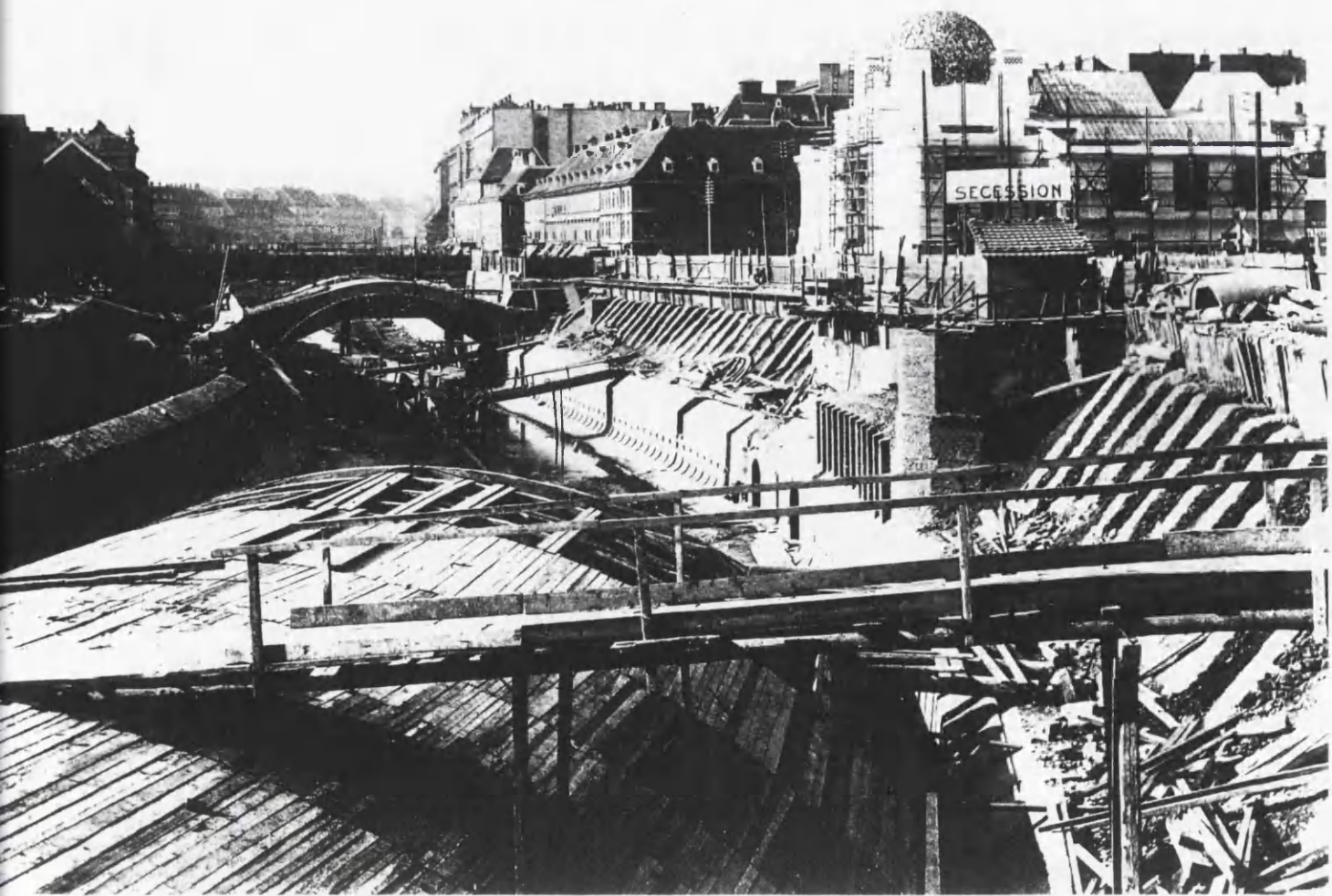
Wagner's contract to design the railway buildings itself reads like a total project which included stations, bridges, tunnel entrances, doors, iron work and all aspects of the spatial configuration of rail travel such as lifts, ticket office, toilets, luggage office, etc. The city railway became an essential total element of the Vienna cityscape, a single complete network, 'not merely because .. it created an endless environment of friendly flying roofs and kiosks, but because, on the contrary, it is an autonomous work, a totality of manifest decisions'.[183] Indeed, it remains a total work of art. (I.39,40,41,42)

In terms of city planning, the Stadtbahn introduced a new communication network that significantly influenced not merely the flow of traffic but also building activity, especially in the suburbs. It was, at the same time, an incomplete network if taken in isolation from the tramway and omnibus networks (with which it was connected). The Stadtbahn, however, not merely did not cover the requirement for radial traffic directly to the centre of the inner city, as Czech points out, but also it did not at all serve the expanding working class housing and factory developments in the south of the city.

Construction along Wien (1898)



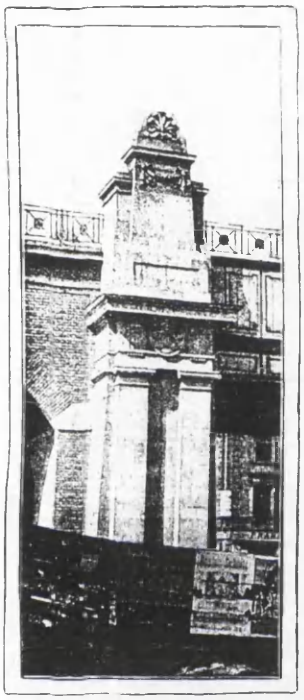
Wienflußregulierung und Stadtbahnbau in Gaudenzdorf, 1898



Die Wienflußregulierung im Bereich der Secession, 1898

ARCHITEKTONISCHE DETAILS DER WIENER STADTBAHN

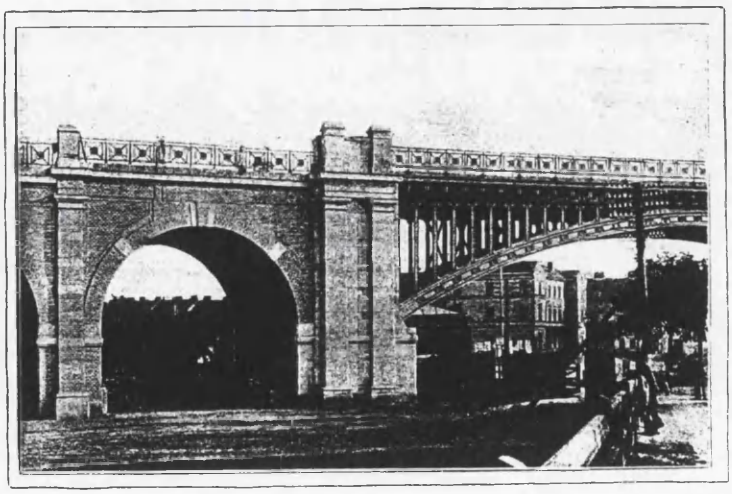
OBERBAURAT OTTO WAGNER



KLEINER PFEILER
STATION WÄHRINGERSTR

FRACHTEN BAHNHOF MICHELBEVERN

GROSSER PFEILER
STATION WÄHRINGERSTR



ÜBERBRÜCKUNG DER NUSSDORFER STRASSE

JOSEPH OLBRICH

VERLAG VON ANTON SCHROLL & CO. IN WIEN

171 Ein Zug der Preßburger Bahn an der Station Hauptzollamt, um 1913

Hauptzollamt Station

I.41

Ober-Döbling Station I.42

Contemporary studies of traffic flows on the tramway system reveal a massive flow to the south of the city (Simmering, etc.) along the Danube where new industry was located, compared to other areas.[184] Similarly, the system did not serve the expanding population in the Second District of Leopoldstadt and areas further east of the inner city. At the same time, the line along the Wien river to Hütteldorf, via Schönbrunn with its special Imperial station (Hietzing), combined with the regulations of the river itself did create an avenue from the city park [Stadtpark] on the Ring to Schönbrunn, but not the grand avenue that Wagner, Mayreder and others had conceived of. A similar fate, though for different reasons, befell the Gürtel line, whose most imposing building work remains the Stadtbahn which runs elevated along much of the road and contrasts with the often poor quality of building on either side of the roads which flank the railway. As soon as the Gürtel began to take the burden of heavy traffic, as the outer ring road, from the inner Ringstrasse which was hardly conceived for such purposes, the problems of heavy traffic use came into play.[185]

Amongst contemporaries, there was a somewhat diverse response. The engineer, Anton Czepelka, in a review of city railway systems in London, Paris, New York, Chicago, Glasgow and Liverpool, declared that the Vienna system 'in its total conception and placement of lines is fundamentally flawed'.[186] He argued that the task of any city railway system is

> to provide rapid personal transport for greater distances between the most populated parts of the metropolis, to offer mass transport as speedily and cheaply as possible, to serve the most fragmented squares and main streets, to connect the most important points with one another and from outside to advance as closely as possible the city and commercial centre.[187]

The Vienna Stadtbahn is alone in having created a system which 'sneaks around the ten real districts of Vienna, like the cats around the hot porridge'. All other city railway systems

'naturally gravitate and converge towards the core of the city' whereas in Vienna the lines travel their separate ways, only to terminate in Hütteldorf or Heiligenstadt on the outskirts of the city. Thus, Czepelka declares, 'We therefore have no city railway for Vienna but for Hütteldorf and district!'[188] A more appropriate system would have created a line from the west railway station along the Mariahilfestrasse, under the old city to the riverside station, a diagonal line from the south railway station under the city to the Schottentor, as well as other possibilities. The realisation of the possibility of an integrated rail system (with an underground system in the inner city) had to wait another seventy years.

In Hevesi's view,[189] however, the Stadtbahn was greeted positively by the local population: 'The majority of Viennese has made friends with it immediately and have had no art historical objections to make against it'. 'This "secessionist" railway' compares favourably aesthetically with the Berlin city railway, built at a time which 'merely demanded a utilitarian railway with utilitarian railway stations'. In contrast

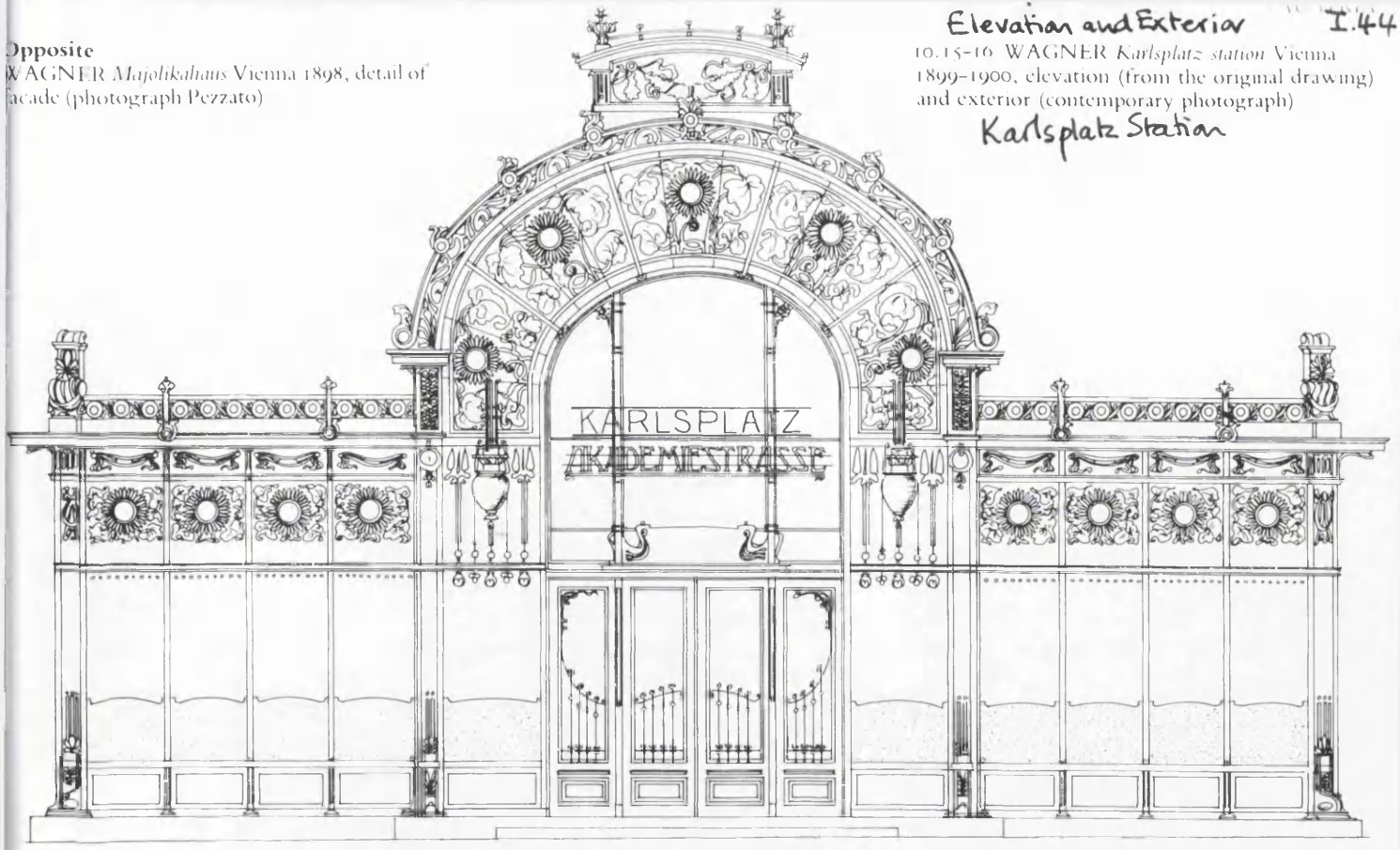
> The Vienna Stadtbahn .. displays the modern amiability, the white beauty, partly in granite, as in the magnificent bridge on the Gumpendorf line, partly in plaster .. In fact, the Gumpendorf bridge has transformed the inhabitants of the western district into Wagnerians ... But the rest of Vienna has become quite accustomed to modern forms through the Stadtbahn. It is an pleasing railway, just like the underground one in Budapest'.[190]

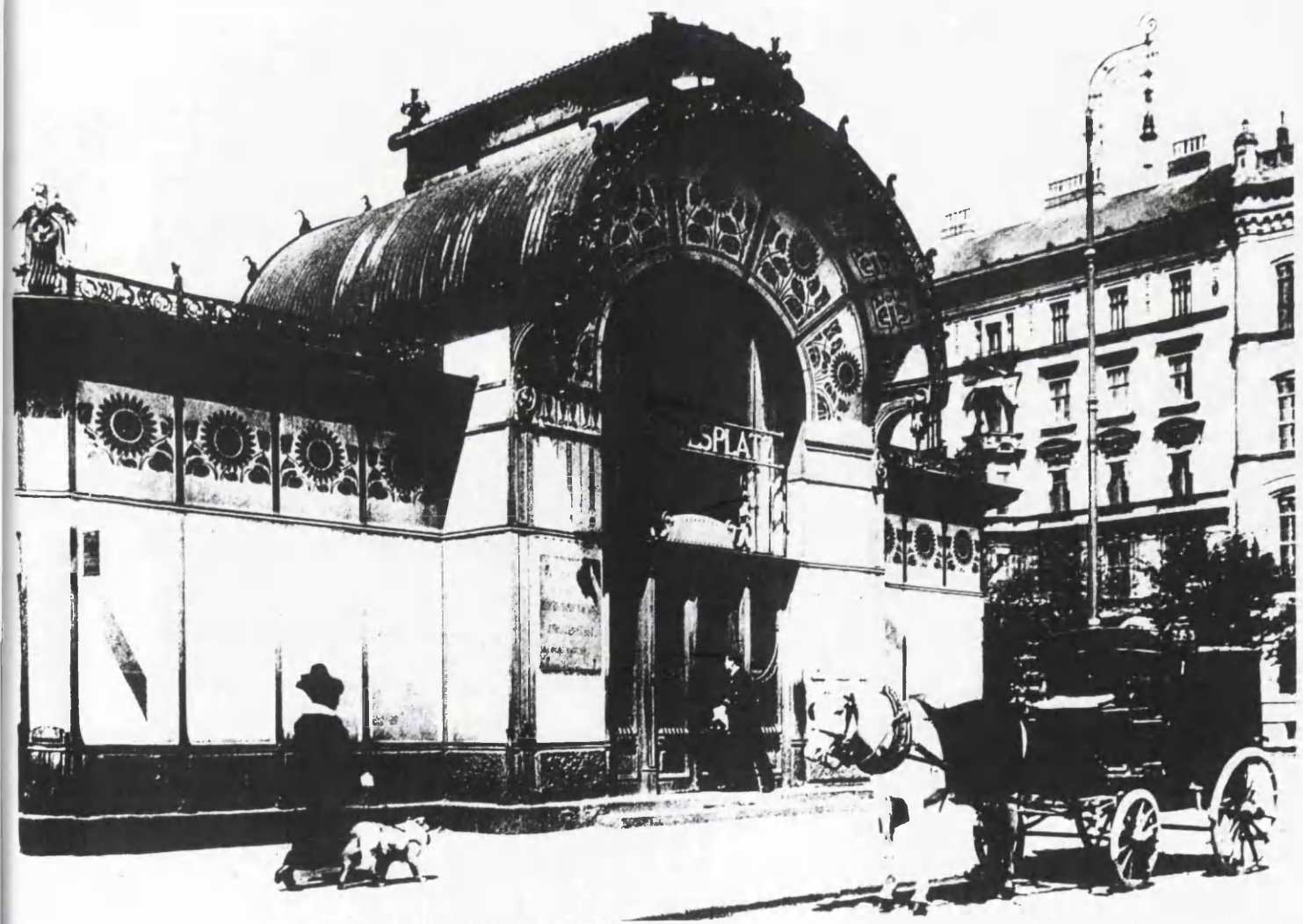
A.S. Levetus, in her account of contemporary Vienna, also recognised the modern forms incorporated into this city railway and its stations system) 'which are essentially modern, especially the one in the Karlsplatz, which shows up bright and new against the old Karlsplatz - almost startling is the contrast. (I.43,44) The "Court Pavilion" of the city railway is ornamented with a cupula, but the decorations and forms are modern'.[191] (I.45) The latter reference is to the station built especially for the Emperor with his own waiting room complete with a wall size, bird's eye view of Vienna. The gaze of power could be

Karlsplatz
Station under
construction
1899

Opposite
WAGNER *Majolikahaus* Vienna 1898, detail of facade (photograph Pezzato)

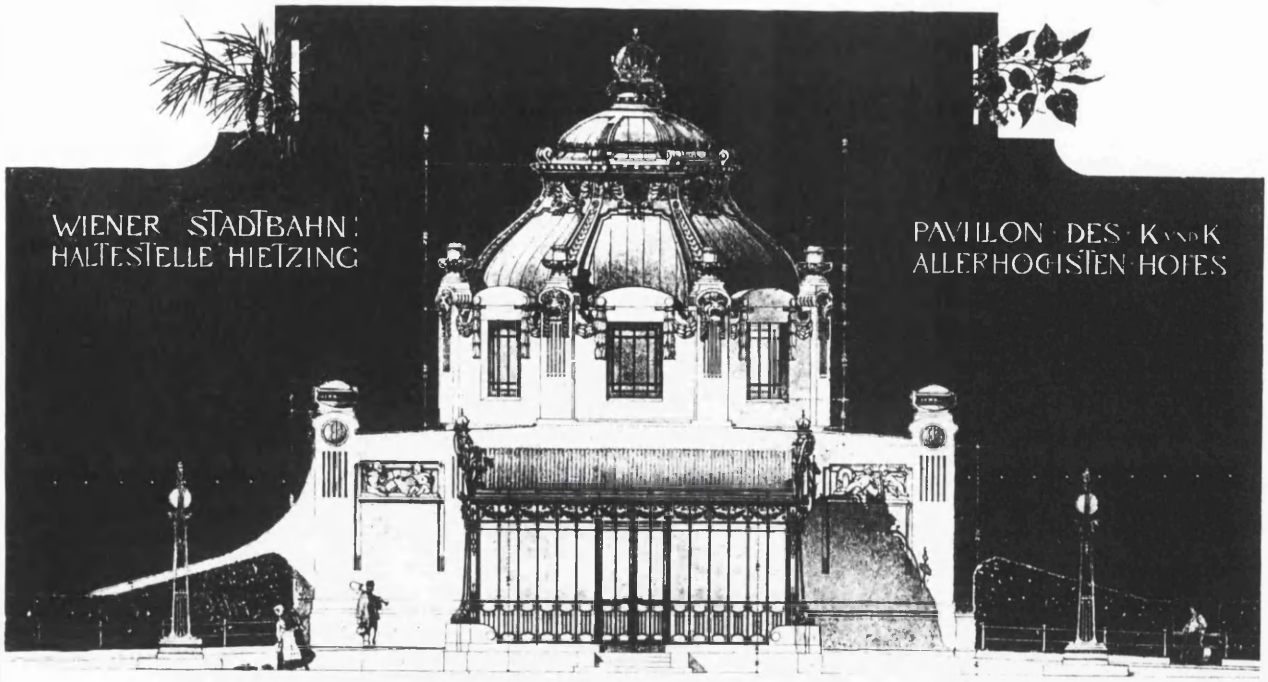
10.15–16 WAGNER *Karlsplatz station* Vienna 1899–1900, elevation (from the original drawing) and exterior (contemporary photograph)





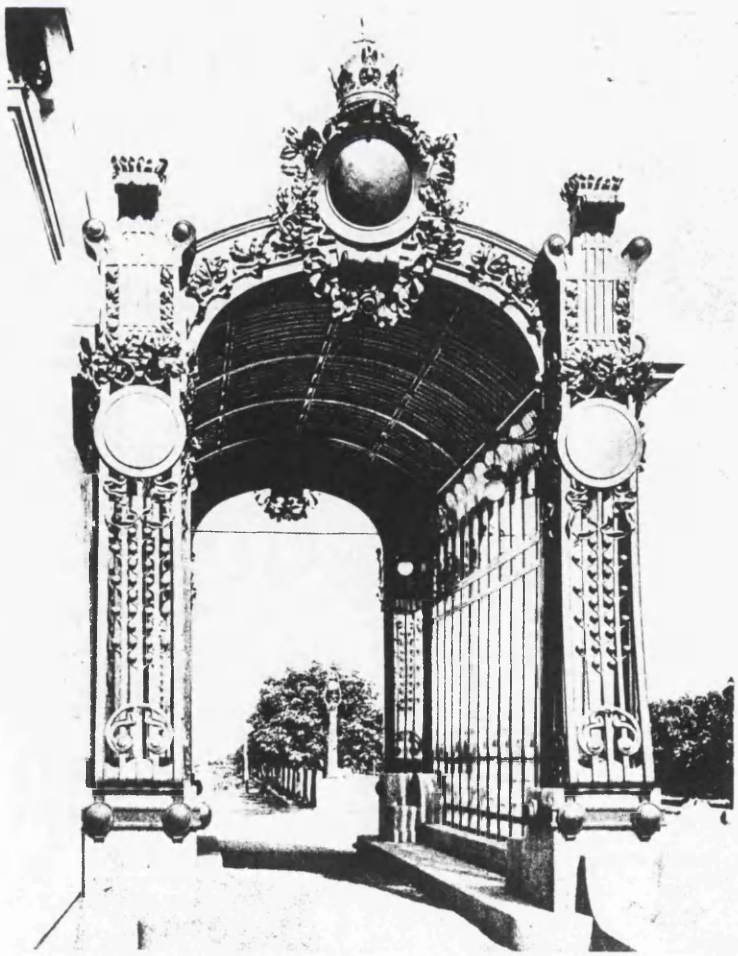
O. Wagner: 'Court Pavillian' and Entrance

I.45



31. HOFPAVILLON: erster Entwurf (1896), straßenseitige Ansicht. Stiegenabgang nach links.

32. HOFPAVILLON: Überdachung der Auffahrt.



enjoyed during one of the most infrequent uses of this station. The Emperor also enjoyed this view from above when he officially opened the railway (as then completed) in May 1898. Commencing at the Michelbeuren station, the Emperor wrote that

> The railway journey began that went first of all on the ring line [Gürtel] as far as the large and beautiful station at Heiligenstadt. Then the journey was continued to Hütteldorf to which end we took the Wien valley line through Hietzing, Schönbrunn, Meidling and travelled additionally on the ring line to the Alserstrasse station where the round trip was completed. The whole railway is built very attractively with beautiful bridges and elegant and practical station buildings. Along the whole route, which largely passes through worker's districts, the buildings were decorated and flagged out and thousands stood in the streets, gardens, at the windows and on the open squares, calling out and waving handkerchiefs. It was a beautiful ovation of the lowest classes.[192]

But for any who had the price of a ticket, the view from above - a new panorama of the city - was available, even though lacking the ovation of onlookers.

The commission approving Wagner's plans for the Stadtbahn in April 1894 was impressed by the 'simple Renaissance forms' throughout the railway system and including the 'slim horizontally placed railings' on the bridges 'without hindering the free vision from the railway coach windows'.[193] In contrast to some other cities, Czech maintains that 'it is no coincidence that in Vienna the reading of newspapers in public means of transport has not taken hold. The Viennese "look out", even in the tunnels'.[194] All classes of beholders, including tourists, could experience new panoramic views of the city without ascending the Stephansdom steeple, the Prater great wheel, or the Kahlenberg.

X

This panoramic view of Vienna - in a different context - was also to have been attained in the General Regulation Plan and subsequent plans for Vienna. Which dimensions of this panorama of the new Vienna should be emphasized - the practical, the

aesthetic, the socio-economic, etc. - was not apparent in the original terms of the competitions. Sitte, who commented extensively on this whole development, already asked.

> Does one wish to allow the new city to emerge as a work of art or merely as a human warehouse [Menschenmagazin]?[195]

If the former is not desired in all seriousness then 'the object will for ever remain a patchwork, a prosaic bungled job', but if this desire is taken seriously then the question is not merely that of the plan but 'how such a plan can be accomplished and who can carry it out'. Although Sitte hoped that the new Vienna would be a work of art, he nonetheless realised that practical considerations had to be taken into account, including significant social factors such as the empirical study of traffic density (of vehicles and persons - 'to count on a single day the total number of passers by [Passanten] on all streets in a single major city').

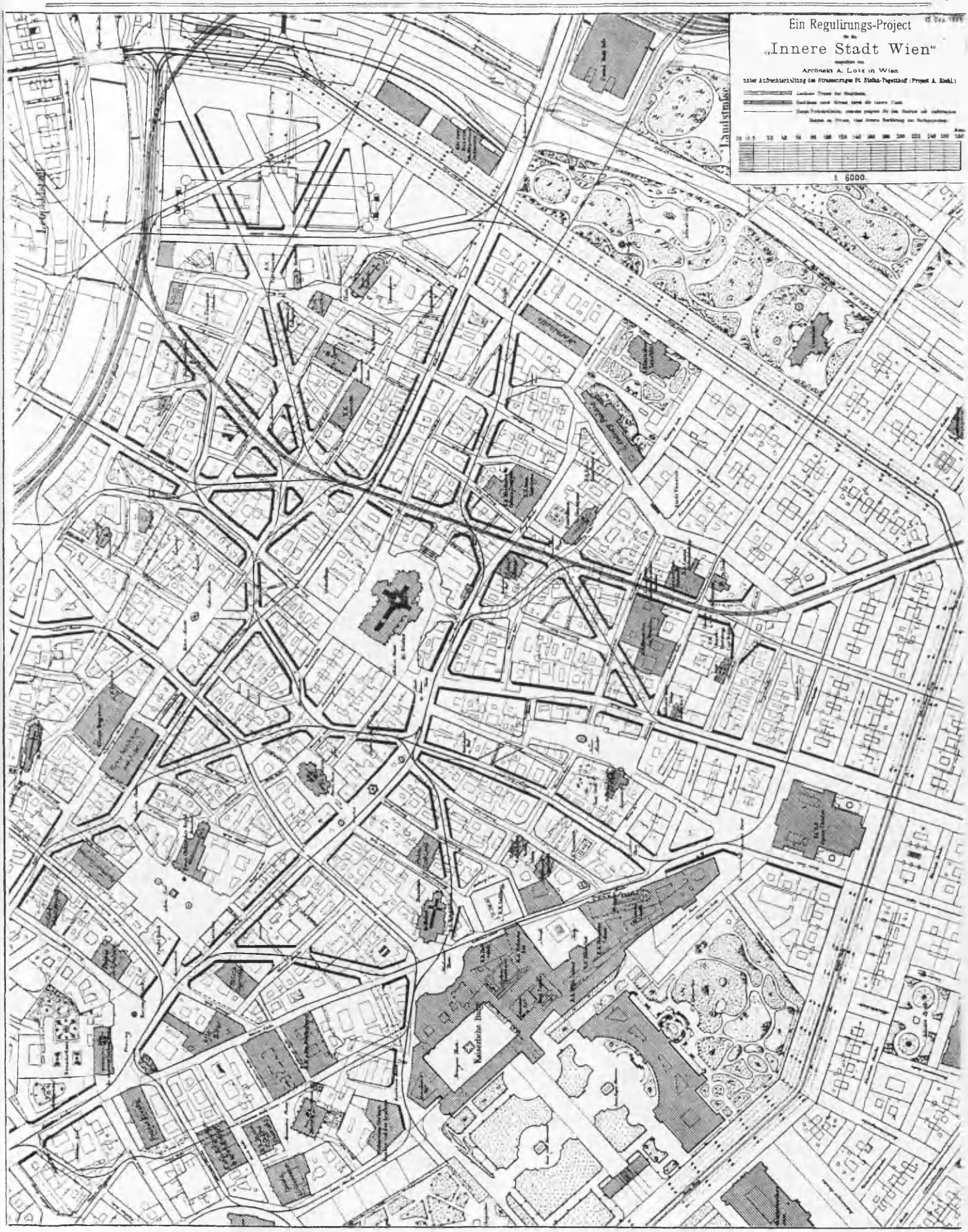
But the social concerns remained at a general level and insufficiently differentiated in the General Regulation Plan. As Mayer - following Schweitzer's earlier overview - concludes

> The insufficiency of planning theory around 1890, which, on the one hand, had not yet advanced beyond a functional crude outline and, on the other, still hardly took into account economic considerations and failed totally to consider social problems led to a situation in which the competing projects could hardly bring forth major new ideas, but rather limited themselves basically to formal structural recommendations, since aesthetics was only gradually taken up in planning and taken into consideration through Sitte.[196]

It was, however, increasingly aesthetic concerns - supported by powerful material interests - which often came to the fore in subsequent attempts to restructure the emergent 'new Vienna'. This was true of the competition to regulate the old inner city. Various projects were submitted for the regulation of the inner city such as Riehl's 1895 project for a major

new avenue - Avenue Tegetthof later known as the plan for Riehl Avenue - from the Stephansdom through the old city across the river and continued along the Prater Strasse to the Praterstern. This project, which never came to fruition was probably the most disputed option for the inner city. Had it been carried out it would have been the closest instance to a Haussmann boulevard in Vienna. A more modest plan, but still involving major restructuring was Karl Mayreder's plan of 1896 'which left almost none of the old streets unchanged',[197] and which was accepted in principle and remained in force until the Second World War. Mayreder's plan succeeded because, unlike Riehl's or Lotz's (I.46) (likewise proposing major avenues through the old city), it did not fundamentally challenge the historical core of the inner city. As was to be expected, Sitte vigorously opposed the major restructuring plans of the inner city. Wagner does not seem to have participated publicly at all in these debates.

Subsequent plans for an underground railway beneath the inner city (I.47) did not come to fruition. With the growing interest - signalled not least by Sitte in a lecture on metropolitan green spaces [Großstadt-Grün] - in a metropolitan environment not merely with many park areas but also easy access to a green belt around the city, the Forest and Meadow Belt [Wald und-Wiesengürtel] (I.48,49) or the People's Ring [Volksring] was discussed extensively in the first decade of the new century,[198] but it was not until the 1930's that the then (and now) termed Höhenstrasse was built under very different circumstances.[199] In 1905, however, when this project was once more advanced - this time by Goldmund - its raison detre was to make Vienna one of the greenest metropolitan centres and to cater from the future expansion of the city from 1.8 million in 1904 to more than 4 million inhabitants by 1950. Although the 'green' ring road had the support of the mayor Dr. Karl Lueger and although some land was purchased for the project in 1907, the first section of the Höhenstrasse was not opened until the end of 1935.[200]



Die Regulirung der inneren Stadt von Wien nach dem Projecte von A. Lotz.

Lotz Plan for Inner City (1906)

ZEITSCHRIFT
DES
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN
INGENIEUR- UND ARCHITEKTEN-VEREINES

Nr. 26 Wien, Freitag den 25. Juni 1909 LXI. Jahrgang

Hochenegg Plan for Underground Railway I.47

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Projekt, betreffend elektrische Untergrundbahnen durch die Innere Stadt Wien.

Von Hofrat, Professor **Karl Hochenegg.**

Das nachstehend mitgeteilte Projekt entstand im vergangenen Herbst, als der Verfasser vom Ausschusse für bauliche Entwicklung Wiens beauftragt wurde, im Vereine ein Referat bezüglich der geplanten Niveaulinie durch die Innere Stadt zu erstatten. Der damals gemachte Vorschlag, das Verkehrsbedürfnis der Inneren Stadt durch Herstellung von Untergrundlinien zu lösen, wurde von sehr berufener Seite bekämpft und hinsichtlich Durchführbarkeit angezweifelt.

Um die erhobenen Bedenken zu entkräften, unterzog sich der Verfasser der Mühe, einen Projektentwurf aufzustellen, wozu ihm umfangreiche Vorarbeiten aus früherer Zeit zur Verfügung standen.

Nach mehrmaliger Umarbeitung dieses Projektentwurfes auf Grund wiederholter Begutachtung desselben durch erfahrene Fachkollegen ergab sich die vorliegende Lösung, welche dem Verfasser vorteilhaft und befriedigend erschien, so daß er sich entschloß, dieselbe in planmäßiger Darstellung und ausführlicher Beschreibung der Stadtgemeinde Wien vorzulegen.

Gelegentlich Überreichung des Projektes an Exzellenz Bürgermeister Dr. Lueger hob der Verfasser hervor, daß er von dem Projekte keinen wie immer gearteten persönlichen Vorteil zu ziehen wünscht und dasselbe seiner Vaterstadt Wien mit der Absicht widmet, zu deren Verschönerung und Vervollkommnung nach Möglichkeit beizutragen.

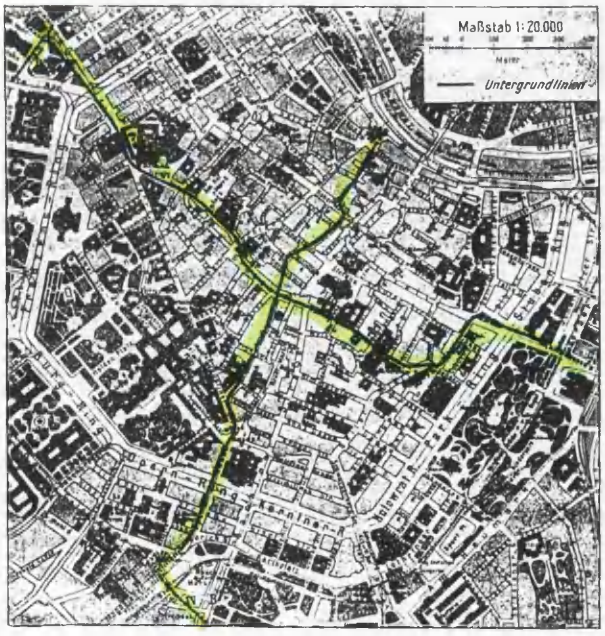


Abb. 1 Untergrundlinien durch die Innere Stadt

1. Allgemeine Beschreibung des geplanten Linienkreuzes.

Um das Verkehrsbedürfnis der äußeren Bezirke nach der Inneren Stadt sowie umgekehrt und auch das Bedürfnis zum Zwecke der Zeitersparnis quer durch die Stadt hindurch zu fahren, befriedigen zu können, sollen nach Ansicht des Verfassers zwei einander ungefähr rechtwinkelig kreuzende Untergrundlinien gebaut werden, und zwar die Linien:

1. Sezession—Morzinplatz;
2. Votivkirche—Stubenbrücke.

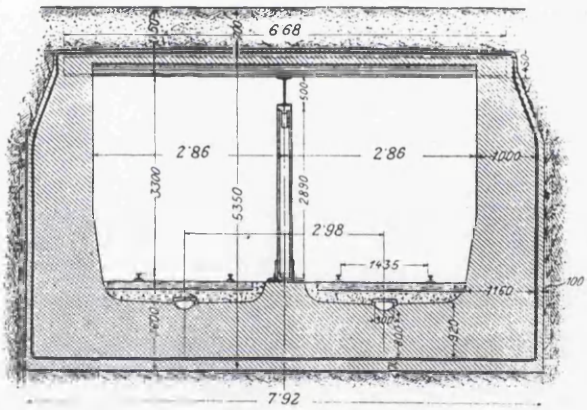


Abb. 2a Querschnitt durch den Tunnel

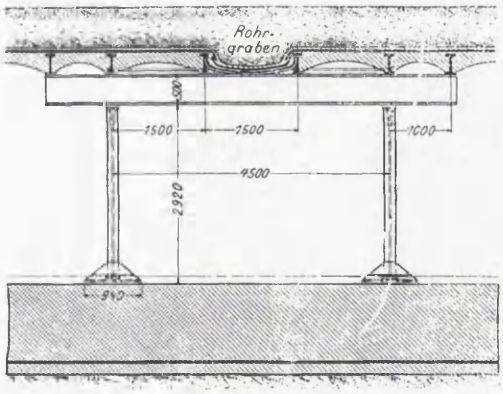


Abb. 2b Längsschnitt durch den Tunnel

Diese Linien sind in dem Übersichtsplane Abb. 1 eingezeichnet und sollen derart gebaut werden, daß die verwendeten Betriebsmittel unmittelbar auf die Straßenbahngleise übergehen, so daß die Untergrundlinien eine Fortsetzung und Verbindung der bestehenden radialen Straßenbahnlinien bilden.

Die geplanten beiden Untergrundlinien, sollen abgesehen vom Endpunkte Morzinplatz, außerhalb der Ringstraße beginnen,

I.48

Green areas in Vienna, London, Paris, Berlin: Goldmund (1905)

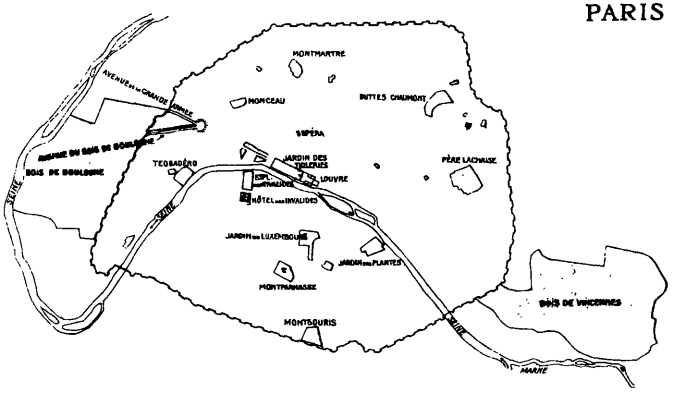
Übersicht der Verteilung der Gärten, Wiesen, Waldflächen und anderer unverbaut bleibender Gebiete in den Städten: PARIS, BERLIN, LONDON und WIEN.

Masstab: 1:150.000.

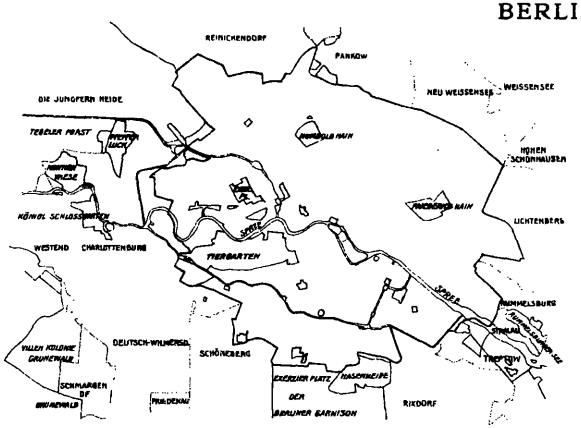
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 Krn

Gärten, Wiesen- und Waldflächen, Friedhöfe und andere unverbaut bleibende Gebiete.
Wald- und Haideflächen ausserhalb der Stadtgrenzen.

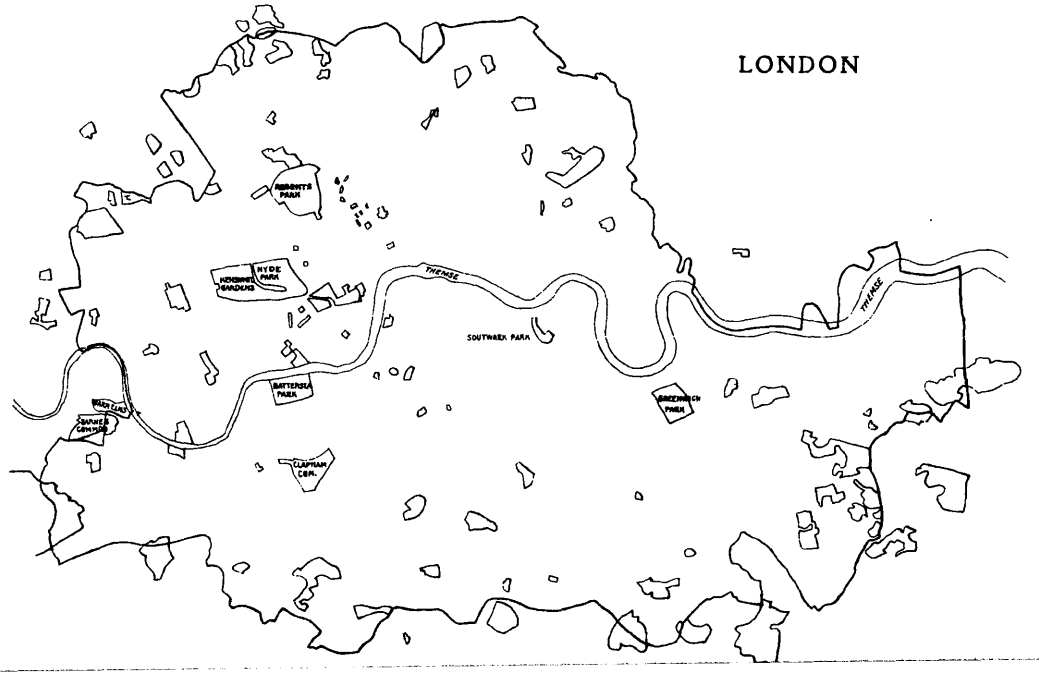
PARIS



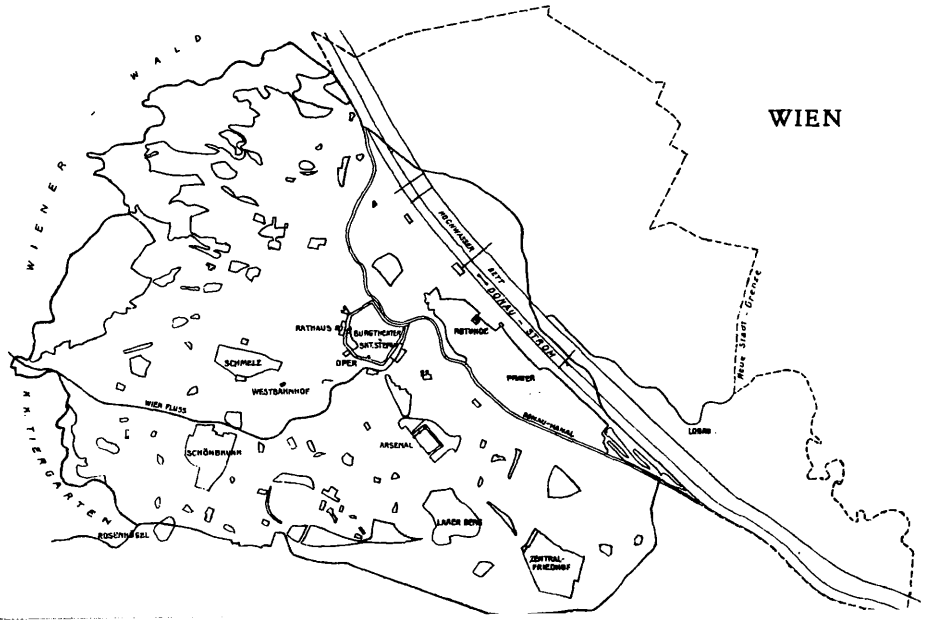
BERLIN



LONDON



WIEN



Green Driveway Plan (1905) - 'Höhenstrasse'

I.49

It was, however, in the inner city that the greatest conflicts took place around projects for the new Vienna. In a survey of current developments in 1903, Hans Schmidkunz argued that 'compared with the extensions of the city that can proceed in open areas independently of historical tradition, the treatment of old inner cities is recognized to be increasingly difficult'.[201] This was especially true in Vienna, whether the project be Bode's 'electric tramway on the Stephansplatz' (an 'attack on our city', 'brutality' with regard to the city), Hochenegg's proposal for an electric underground railway beneath the inner city, or proposals for specific sections of the inner city, including the Stubenviertel.

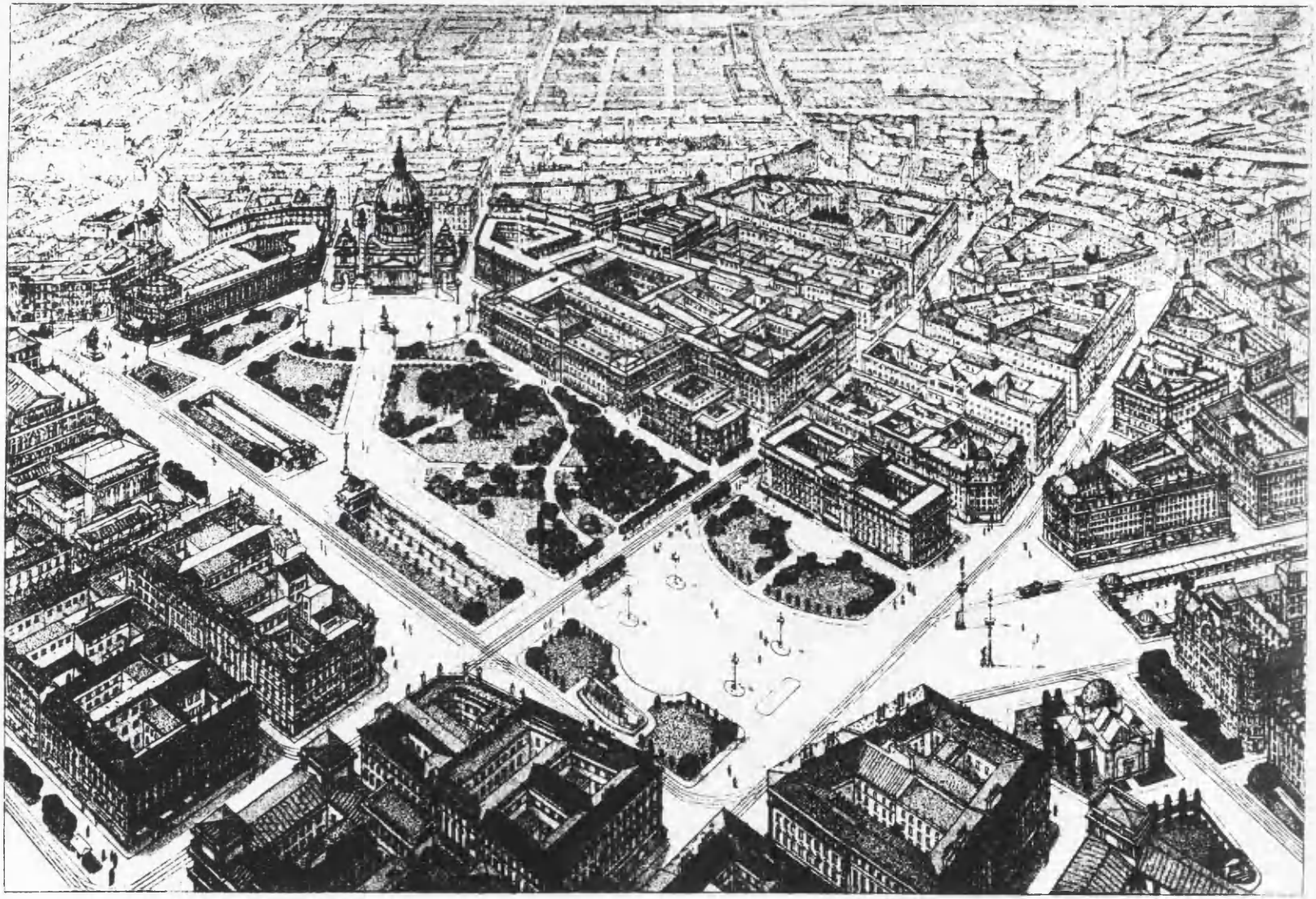
But, as Haiko and others have demonstrated,[202] the architectural controversy was greatest in relation to the Karlsplatz area and the projects for a new museum to be sited in proximity to the Karlskirche. Again, the idea of a new museum to be sited there emerged in 1899 but the Historisches Museum was only completed in 1958. As Haiko has carefully documented, the controversy surrounding the prospect of a new museum in proximity to Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche was not merely the most vitriolic but, between 1900 and 1912 was directed most often against Wagner (I.50,51,52,53), even though other 'modern' architects entered designs for each new competition. The critique of Wagner's modernist position and the presuppositions about modernity are worthy of separate treatment on 'modern life' in Vienna. Suffice it to say here that projects for the Karlskirche area continued after 1912 and were being produced during the First World War by architects such as Friedrich Ohmann (since 1904 Professor of Architecture, along with Wagner, at the Academy of Fine Arts). Although Ohmann favoured what was termed 'historical-modern' style, his project was not carried out either.

The forum for the debates on the new Vienna and the detailed specific projects for its transformation included the Austrian Engineers and Architects Association and its journal. Compared with the number of articles dealing with traffic in Vienna arising out of

I. 50

Wagner Plan for Karlsplatz (1909)

217. KARLSPLATZ mit KAISER FRANZ JOSEPH-STADTMUSEUM (Projekt von 1909): Vogelschau. Von links nach rechts an der Rückwand des Platzes Museum, Karlskirche, Technische Hochschule, Hansens evangelische Schule und Wagners Warenhaus (1904); rechts außen die Wienzeileneinmündung, in der nach Wagners Vorschlag der neue Naschmarkt beginnen sollte; im rechten unteren Eck Olbrichs Sezession. In der Verlängerung des rechten Stadtbahneinschnitts und in der Achse des Warenhauses Wagners Monumentalbrunnen (1905; vgl. S. 245).



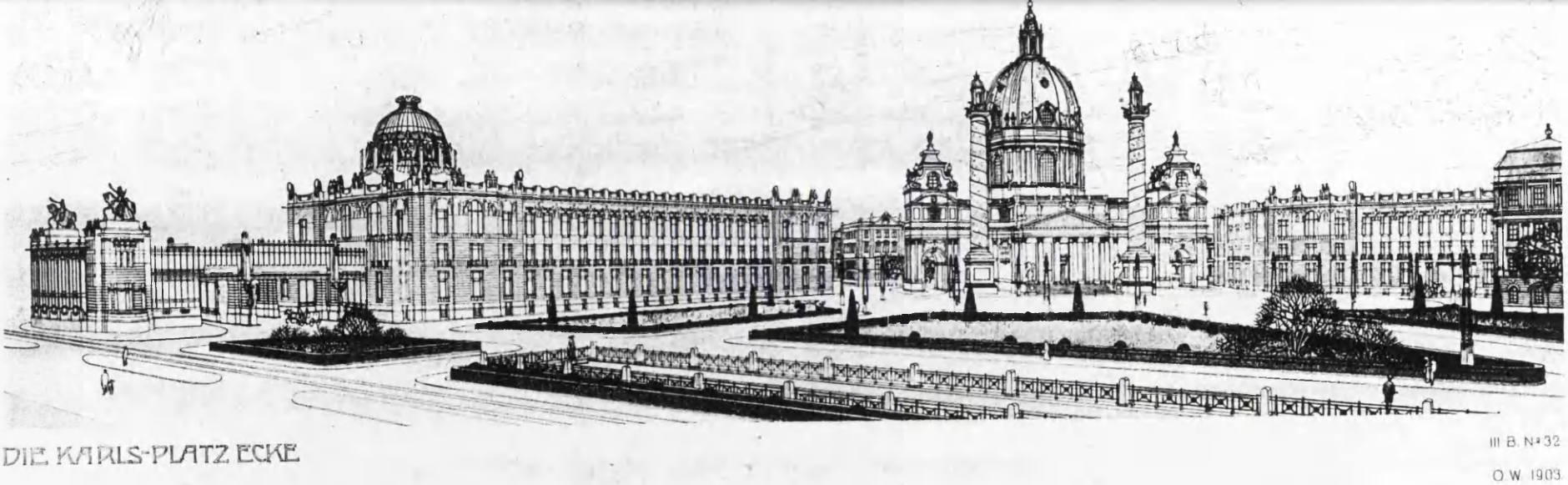


Abb. 670, 115 *Stadtmuseum, Ansicht des Baus und der Umgebung*

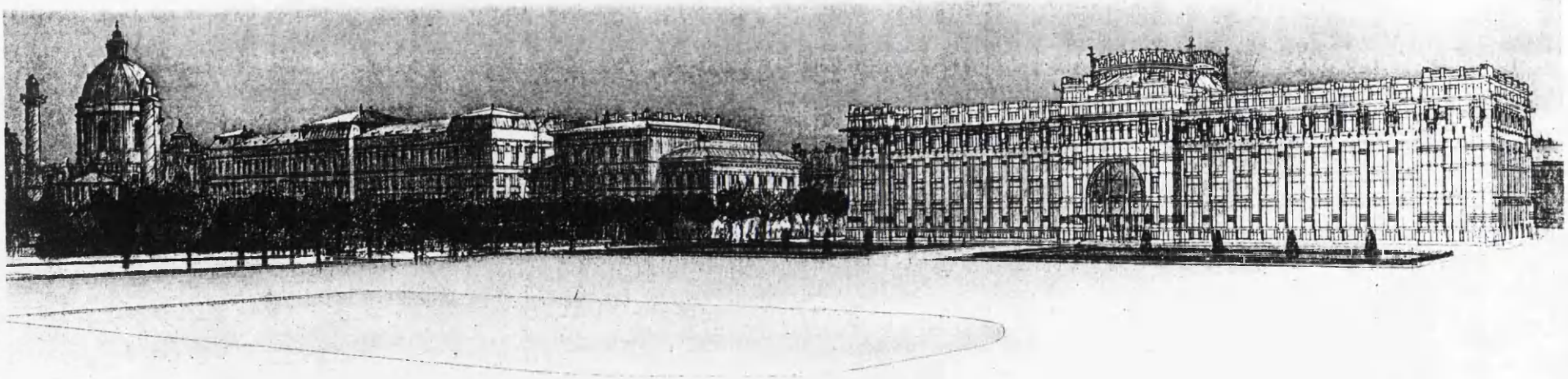


Abb. 671, 114 *Warenhaus, Ansicht*

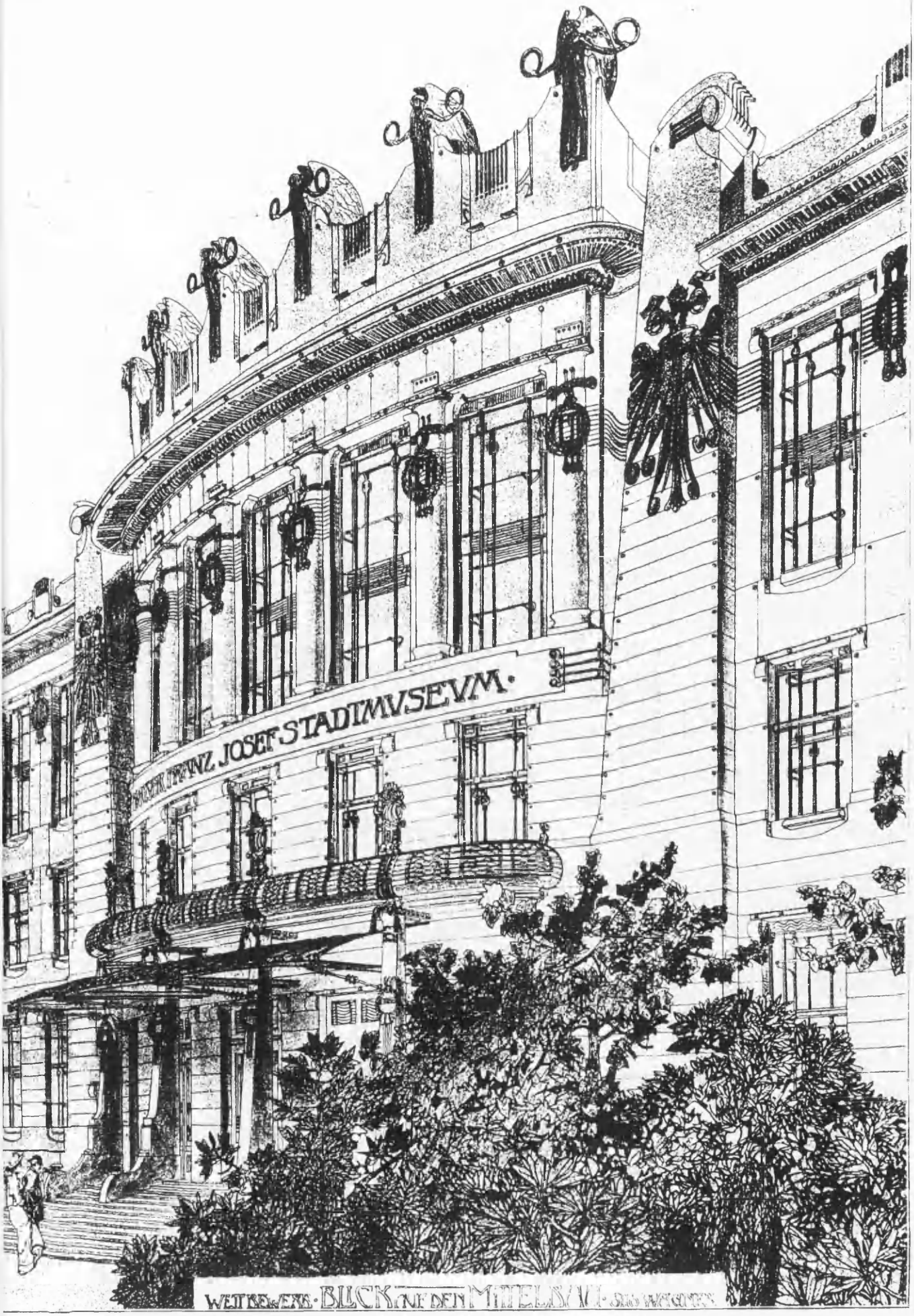
Stadtmuseum 1903 – 1909, Warenhaus

Wagner Plan for Museum (1903) Left and Department Store (1904) Right

I. 51

O. Wagner: Naschmarkt (1909) I.52

Abb. 699, 116 *Naschmarkt, Ansicht, um 1909*



Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

Wettbewerb für das Kaiser Franz Joseph-Stadt-Museum in Wien.

Vom k. k. Oberbaurath und Professor Otto Wagner.

O. Wagner: City Museum (1902)

the doubling of its population in the 30 years down to 1910, for instance, and proposals for mass transit systems to cope with this increase[203] and the - unrealistic - projections for future traffic density consequent upon equally unrealistic population increase projections, the articles dealing with mass housing were much more infrequent. Earlier proposals for cottage developments since the 1880s and earlier, which actually addressed lower middle class housing, were supplemented after the turn of the century with projects for garden city developments, emulating developments in Britain, Holland and, by then, Germany. But the problem of mass housing could not be dealt with by these means. Similarly, the General Regulation Plans for Vienna in their various guises seldom, if at all, addressed this issue. As an indication of this, as Schweitzer suggests,

> The unplanned structural transformation of the areas on the edge of the city at the end of the First World War through the construction of allotments and allotment estates that undoubtedly represented the result of the war, also forcefully indicated that vital needs of the majority of the population were not satisfied by the General Regulation Plan .... In the interests of the dominant stratum between 1894 and 1920 the real needs of the population were overlooked in planning'.[204]

Not surprisingly, therefore, there are few instances of articles in the official architects' journal dealing with mass housing before the First World War. In the years just before the World War and especially 'in the years from 1908 to 1911 the situation on the housing market deteriorated dramatically, which expressed itself in increasing overcrowding, rising rents and increasing homelessness'.[205] The norm of working class housing in Vienna up to 1914 was the 'Bassena House', with small rooms and kitchens (effectively living rooms since they were the only heated rooms) in the corridors of the rented apartment blocks.[206] The small family dwelling was put forward as an alternative and built by communal building co-operatives in 'worker colonies' [Arbeitercolonien], in the first decade of the new century. But these developments failed to address the majority of the working population.

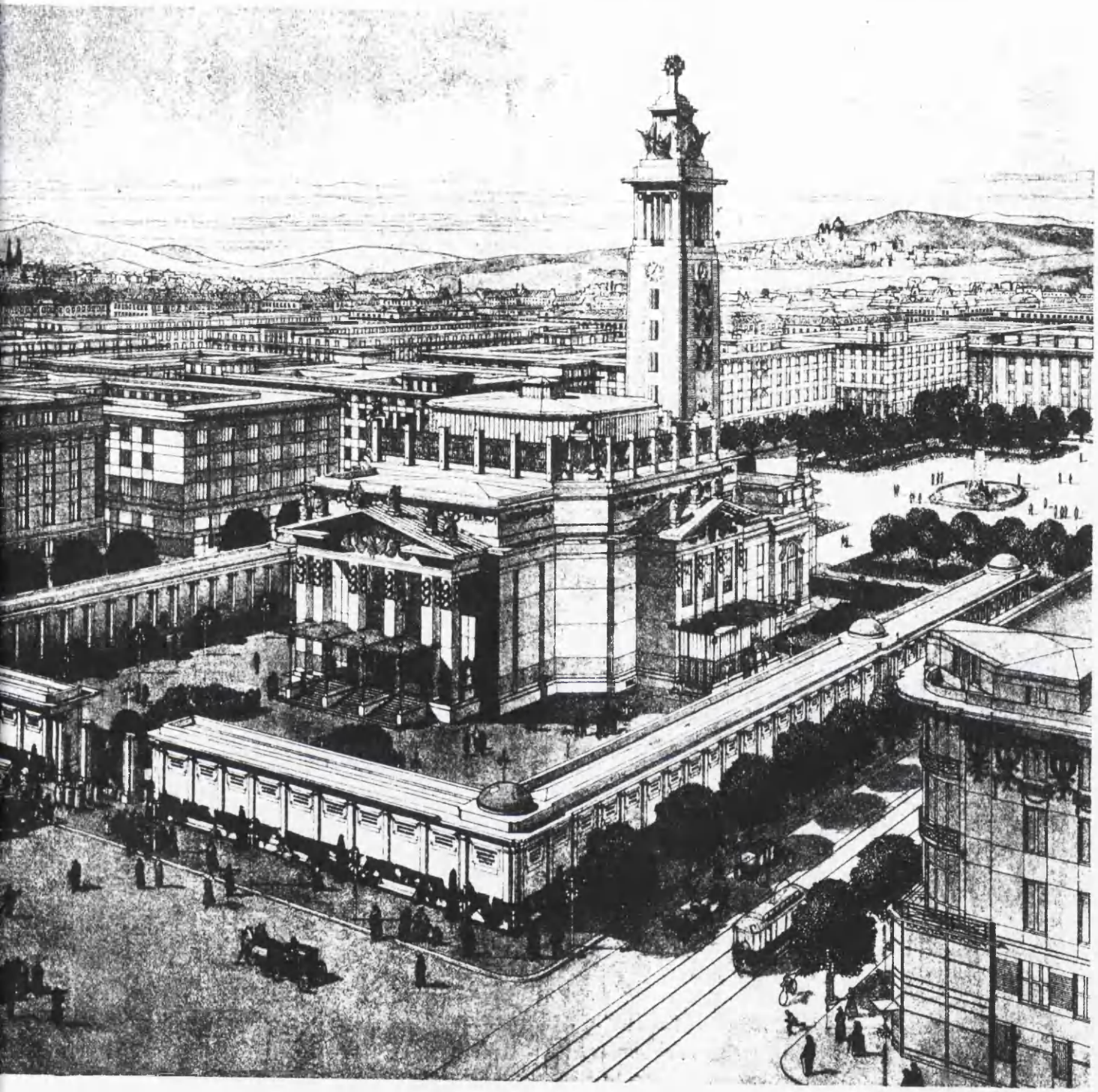
The fundamental problem in the provision of mass housing of good quality was economic. Many saw it as a problem of taxation on profits or on land speculation. Wagner, in Die Großstadt (1911), proposed that municipal authorities buy or appropriate land surrounding the metropolis and sell it back to the private sector in order to finance the expansion of the city, prevent land speculation and construct public buildings or dwellings with the resulting profits. In the post 1918 period, it was the local state, the Municipality which provided mass housing, a mass housing the large majority of which was designed by Wagner's former students. The irony of this, as we shall see, is that their training under Wagner had concentrated upon the Wohn-und Geschäftshaus or the Miethaus and not upon any other form of mass housing. The mass housing blocks that were built in the post 1918 period and which remain the most manifest symbol of the architecture of Vienna in the interwar period belong to another third 'new Vienna' and a 'new Austria'.

They were anticipated neither by official outlines for 'Vienna after the War' such as were published by the Austrian Engineers and Architects Association in 1916,[207] nor by Wagner's intended critique of this document. Although the latter was not published, its outline did appear in the Neue Freie Presse in 1917.[208]

Wagner there declared that in the post war period, the encouragement of the city's further social and economic development must come in part 'from culture, from goals and from the soul of the people [Volksseele]'. His recommendations for building projects that would provide such encouragement comprised on Arts Forum in conjunction with exhibition halls, a monument to the loyalty of the central powers [Treubund-Denkmal], a Victory Church (I.54), a Heroes Monument, master studios associated with art galleries, the Modern Gallery (a project put forward unsuccessfully by Wagner for 17 years), a Gateway to the Danube - Oder Canal (anticipating greater trade amongst the Central Powers), People's Department Stores, two middle class sanatoriums, a hospital for women,

O. Wagner: View of Victory Church (1917)

I.54



RIEDENSKIRCHE (auch Siegeskirche; 1917). Im Hintergrund die Silhouette der Kirche Am Steinhof.

the Emperor Franz-Josef Memorial and a Hapsburg Museum.[209] What all these recommendations have in common (except the artists studios) is that they are monumental public structures. The continued commitment to modernity is a continued commitment to the monumental in architecture for Wagner. All these monumental structures and other building projects recommended by Wagner were to be built in the modern style, a modernity now encouraged by the war experience:

> The war as educator will also teach us to avoid the aberrations of a kind of overcultured state [Überkultur] and to advance that useful style [Nutzstil], which seeks its salvation in purposeful fulfilment in beautiful conditions, in the correct allocation of building materials, in avoiding outrageous application of material and in the typical mode of building, a salvation that flows from life, only creates what is real and reproduces the spirit of our times (expressed twenty five years ago).[210]

A modern architecture that 'reproduces the spirit of our times' is one that manifests the features of modern life. The monuments recommended by Wagner together with an airport, stadium and other structures are all part of that modern life. However, none were built in the manner conceived by Wagner in the 'new Vienna' of the post First World War.

CHAPTER THREE

Modern Architecture - for Modern Life

CHAPTER THREE

Modern Architecture - for Modern Life

> The most modern of that which is modern in architecture are indeed our present day metropolitan cities.
>
> Otto Wagner (1896)

> I wish you many more Post Office Savings Banks and other monumental buildings, but hope that they will not again be the cause of shortening your time with us here.
>
> Albert Hofmann (Berlin) to Wagner (27.11.1903)

I

In his first Preface to Moderne Architektur, Wagner already makes the connection between modern architecture and its new starting point in modern life:

> 'One idea inspires the whole volume, namely that the basis of presentday predominant views on architecture must be shifted and we must become fully aware that the sole starting point of our artistic endeavours should be modern life'.[1]

This key axiom for Wagner's programme for a modern architecture rests upon the delineation of modern life, its features, its goals and its dimensions in diverse areas. Two years later, in the preface to the second edition (September 1898), Wagner makes a further claim that identifies the modern in its authentic form with the possibility for the creation of a beautiful architecture:

> 'Not everything that is modern is beautiful, yet our senses must tell us that today the truly beautiful can only be modern.[2]

By 1898 Wagner is already asserting that what is modern creates the possibility for the beautiful. That this possibility can now be realised is supported by the confidence that is apparent in the 1898 Preface with regard to the victory of modernity over tradition.

Whereas the Preface to the first edition does not mention modernity, merely modern life, and although modernity/modernism appear still in parentheses in 1898, Wagner is confident that it is now largely victorious:

> 'Almost everywhere "modernity" has entered as the victor. The opponents came shuffling like deserters into our camp, their best fighters were shaking when they recognised that the shield of tradition and intimacy which they held up against the charge of the "moderns" in fact was only made of glass.'[3]

This overblown military rhetoric is perhaps testimony to the extent and intensity of the conflicts in which Wagner participated. As far as Wagner's own version of modernism was concerned the announcement of victory was premature. The unusual ascription of the defence of 'tradition and intimacy' to modernity's opponents reveals, on the one hand, the polarisation of tradition and modernity and, on the other, an implicit duality of intimacy and anonymity. As we shall see, for Wagner, anonymity derived from the levelling processes of modern life is a feature of a democratic, mass society. The reference to intimacy may also be a reference to Sitte's defence of the historical inner city and its cosiness.

The indications of the success of the modern movement are the Secession, the architecture exhibition at the Emperor's Jubilee in 1898, and new journals open to the publication of modern works. Retaining the military analogy, Wagner declares that,

> An army of art journals appeared on the battlefield, and all have opened their columns to the "moderns", in deed and word "modernity" is celebrated. The success of the Secession and of the architecture in the Jubilee Exhibition in Vienna[4]

all contributed to the progress of modernity. Amongst the journals to which Wagner refers here are certainly Der Architekt and Ver Sacrum.

The relationship between modernity and tradition has also been transformed. On the one hand,

> Art has again emerged from the ashes of tradition as "modern" [Moderne], brilliant like a phoenix, and has displayed anew its eternal creative power.[5]

But, on the other hand, this modernism has not totally destroyed tradition. Rather,

> Tradition has retained its true worth through the advance of the "moderns" and lost its excess value [Überwerth], archaeology has sunk back into being an auxiliary discipline of art and will hopefully always remain so.[6]

The value of genuine tradition has been retained by the modernists and the Historicist surplus or excess value provided by endless recall of the past has been removed. The fact that the struggle against tradition is 'an embittered one' is readily understandable. But the victory of the "moderns", conversely, should not imply that 'everything blossoms with healthy fruits which "modernity" undertakes', but it does create the possibility for the truly beautiful and modern.

Wagner's third Preface of October 1901 is even more confident about the volume's success since its initial publication because 'its then so numerous opponents have been rendered silent' and because 'despite all prophecies to the contrary and despite the reprehensible weapons of its opponents, modernity has become the victor and will always remain so'.[7] The 'reprehensible' weapons of Wagner's opponents may have included their contacts with the various government ministries involved in architectural competitions and contracts and, aside from Hevesi and a few other sympathetic critics, access to the major newspapers of the period. Again, it can only be underlined here that Wagner's judgments

as to modernity's victory in the light of his own increasing lack of success in completing major projects, was somewhat premature. However, for the moment, the substantive theses of his Moderne Architektur - and in particular, those of the first and second editions - are our main concern. The volume is divided into five sections on the architect, style, composition, construction and artistic practice.

Wagner's discussions of the architect commences with a contrast between the ideal and the reality of architectural practice. On the one hand,

> The architect is praised as the crown of modern human beings in his happy unification of idealism and realism. [...]
> Amongst the fine arts, architecture alone is really creative and fruitful, that is, it alone is capable of creating forms which appear beautiful to humanity without their finding their exemplary in nature. [...] in architecture the highest expression of human ... capacity is revealed. [...] Hence, architecture must be characterized as the most powerful of all the arts.[8]

However, the general response to the work of the architect is not matched by architecture's ideal. The architect must cope with 'the indolence and eccentric views of the majority in relation to architecture' and the lack of praise for most architectural work. Indeed, such acclamation

> 'seldom reveals itself in the architectural climate, only the eternal greyness of practice and the uncanny darkness of general indifference'.[9]

Faced with such indifference, the architect can only be satisfied with 'inner satisfaction'. Indeed, the situation of the architect is so serious that Wagner argues for the state to support and preserve architecture, for the (local and national) state to demonstrate positive initiatives in architecture. Hence, 'the sale and use of old apartment blocks [Zinshäuser] for public offices must cease, the pure utilitarian standpoint must yield to the artistic-practical one', and the state must positively encourage monumental art if Vienna is to be

able to compete with Berlin, where 'between 1871 and 1890, thus in 19 years, monumental buildings costing around 250 million Marks have been exclusively erected by the state'.[10]

However, the architect's lack of standing has deeper causes. In particular, Wagner highlights a factor which has many significant implications:

> The main cause of the lack of full appreciation of the significance of the architect lies in the world of forms employed by him up to now, in his language directed to the mass of the people which in most instances remains completely unintelligible to them.[11]

The unintelligibility, that is, the legibility of the 'world of forms' and its 'public' language is what Wagner seeks to address as his main task in Moderne Architektur. To anticipate, the implication of Wagner's position is that if a modern architecture that is appropriate to modern life can be created, then architecture will once more become intelligible and legible. It is not enough to attribute the present unintelligibility to 'the indifference of the masses for architecture'. Rather, once the architect has been formally trained in their discipline, amongst the most important abilities which they must possess is 'the capacity to perceive needs [Bedürfnisse] .... It is well known that the contemporary world [Mitwelt] sets the tasks and it is the artist's duty to solve these tasks and to find the form for them'.

Although there are 'thousands of things .. which influence this form', they include 'modes of dwelling and living, fashion, etiquette, climate, spatial location, materials, tools etc. and finally the financial means'. To train architects for 'our modern circumstances', it is no longer necessary to send them for a one or two year study period to Italy since what they might accomplish there (with regard to drawing, perspective, form, etc.) could be undertaken in 3 to 5 months. And then, Wagner proposes,

> after roughly a month's rest, the young artist should visit the metropolitan centres and those places where modern luxury is at home, and there he should fundamentally study through observation and perception the needs of modern humanity.[13]

That is was Wagner's advice to his students is confirmed by one of them, Aloys Ludwig, who recalled Wagner's recommendation: 'Don't look so long at the old trash; rather go to Paris and look around there'.[14] However, the focus upon 'where modern luxury is at home' is also indicative of Wagner's programme for architectural studies, if the social locations of the majority of the student projects illustrated in Der Architekt are exemplars of their orientation to villas and predominantly bourgeois and aristocratic leisure facilities.

If the modern architect should be capable of observing 'modern needs', is there an appropriate style in which they may be satisfied? Wagner argues against the view that architects choose a so-called style for all their projects and discounts the claim made against himself that he makes us of 'the so-called "Empire-style" ' because of the significance of the slab and straight line in his work. Rather, style should refer not to this subjective preference but to the style of an epoch. And here Wagner makes three claims. The first is that great styles emerge out of one another. The second is that 'major social transformation have always given birth to new styles'. The third is that art and its style

> 'was ... the total apodistic expression of the ideal of beauty of a specific time period. The artist of all times had the sharply defined task of creating new forms out of that which had been handed down and inherited which in turn represented the art forms of his period. It may thus be taken as proven that art and artists indeed represent their epoch. How then did architects represent their epoch in the recent past?[15]

The rapid transformations in the second half of the nineteenth century produced an equally rapid search for appropriate artistic expression, but the result was a 'rush through all stylistic tendencies. Who does not recall then the electrifying effect which, after the major political events in Germany, were called forth by the words "old German style" ', or the endless 'fanfares of styles and Philippics' greeting each new style? The resulting "works of art" were, however, merely 'the fruits of "architectural" studies', producing

styles that were all equally valid. The result has been attempts to produce copies of earlier styles as accurately as possible (whose accuracy then becomes a criterion for its effectiveness as a work of art). Such contiguous development of earlier 'forms of art' alongside one another in the modern world must be countered by the task of 'seeking .. another expression for our modern period'. For Wagner, therefore,

> The task of art, including the modern, remains, however, the same as it was in all times. Modern art must represent our modernity, our capabilities and our actions through forms created by ourselves.[16]

The architect's relationship to modernity and the problems of its representation lead Wagner to reflect upon the relationship between taste, fashion and style - in a manner that proved abhorrent to many of his critics, but which has again become a topic of recent architectural theory.

The neglect of the inner relationship between taste, fashion and style has obscured the actual relationship between fashion and art forms. In particular, Wagner takes as readily and historically demonstrated that

> the external appearance, human clothing completely corresponds in form, colour and decoration [Ausstattung] to the prevalent artistic viewpoints and artistic creations.[17]

This homology is indicted by the comparison of 'pictures of costumes with contemporary architectural works' or with 'painting that depict both together'.

Fashion's and costume's expression of the 'forms of their own epoch' in the past contrasts with the present situation where we are confronted with

> A jumble of styles, everything is copied and even pastinated; and this is supposed to accord with our external appearance? [...] Where then is the error in all this? Whence this disharmony in fashion and style? Modern humanity has certainly not lost its taste, it notices more so than previously the smallest error in fashion and this is today certainly more difficult than in earlier

> times. Our clothing, our fashion is dictated by the general public [Allgemeinheit] and found to be correct.[18]

The lack of harmony in fashion is not generated by fashion itself. What Wagner does not recognise here, however, is that acutely status conscious upper strata (including many architects themselves) would not wish to admit either to an affinity between art forms and something as 'low' as fashion or to the fact that fashion might be dictated by the 'general' and not the 'refined' public.

However, Wagner's reflections on fashion and architecture are directed towards modern life. For him,

> Things which spring from modern viewpoints ... accord completely with our appearance, whereas what is copied and imitated never does so.
> A man in a modern travelling suit, for example, will accord very well with the railway station entrance hall, with the sleeping car, with all our vehicles, but with what surprise would we greet him if, for instance, we were to see him utilizing such things dressed up in the clothes of the Louis XV period.[19]

There exists therefore a radical disjunction between 'the astonishing sensitivity of the general public with regard to fashion' on the one hand, and the 'indifference, and even stupidity' with respect to artistic works. Again, it is worth noting here that it is male fashion which is Wagner's example; the identification of fashion with female (which was probably the much more common reading of fashion) would have been more threatening with respect to its affinity with art forms.

Wagner provides three reasons for the disparity between the response to fashion and art works. The first rests upon a distinction between fashion and style (and taste):

> Fashion is the more obvious, easier to understand, easier to be influenced, the preparatory dimension of style, whereas style itself represents the ossified, difficult to influence and chastened taste, whose judgement already demands absorption.[20]

Fashion is thus both popular [Leichtfasslich] and accessible. Its ready appreciation contrasts with the second and third reason for mass indifference to the work of art, namely that 'the language of art is unintelligible and that what is on offer is not a work of our times'. Wagner had already maintained that the unintelligibility of architecture accounted for the lack of respect for the architect.

The art work's lack of contemporaneity also afflicts architecture. The morbid recall of past (dead) style has brought about a situation in which

> the lay public and, unfortunately, many architects too are of the view that a parliament building should be Greek, a telegraph office or a telephone centre should not be built in Gothic style whereas they require of a church that it be built directly in the latter style. In so doing they all forget ... that the human beings who frequent these buildings are all equally modern.[21]

What Wagner fails to consider in the latter respect is that individuals in these buildings are not necessarily all modern or contemporaneous in terms of their world view. This is one of the important incongruities which Loos later highlights.

Wagner gives two examples of this desire to 'cut up the dead' 'with magnifying glass and lancet'. The first is a town hall competition seeking to integrate it into its 'picturesque' surroundings without realising that it would require the rebuilding of adjacent buildings so that eventually the 'old' town hall was surrounded by new buildings. Secondly, Wagner cites another competition for a town hall in which 'of 53 designs no less than 52 were Gothic or Old German'.

In contrast, a modern architecture can only emerge out of the self conscious creation of modern forms that will be intelligible to modern people and which will deviate from 'the broad path of imitation and conventionality'. This means that,

> All modern forms must be in accord with the new material, the new requirements of our times if they are to be appreciate to modern humanity. They must make visible our own better, democratic, self-conscious ideal essence and take into account

> the colossal technical and scientific achievements as well as the permanent practical traits of humanity.[22]

Precisely how new modern architectural forms will render our democratic and self conscious modernity visible remains unclear. Nonetheless, Wagner is convinced that a genuine, dynamic social transformation is under way, one so powerful 'that we can hardly speak of a Renaissance of the Renaissance. [Rather] a completely new birth, a Naissance' would be more appropriate. A new style representing 'ourselves and our times' will emerge that creates new forms (and no longer copies of the old), that is conditioned by 'our social circumstances', 'the power of our modern achievements' and the transformation of our existing sensibilities. This new style [Neustil] in 1898 is termed "die Moderne", in October 1901 die Moderne without parentheses. How massive this transformation is conceived of by Wagner is indicated by his conviction that 'today between Modernity and the Renaissance a greater gulf already exists than between the Renaissance and Antiquity'.[23] The scale of this present qualitative leap - which, by implication, implies the destruction of the existing order - is similar to that which Marx had posited with the emergence of the capitalist mode of production. For many the rhetoric at least of Wagner's text could be conceived as dangerous.

Modern architectural creation, like that which preceded it, commences with composition. In turn the task of 'correctly recognising the needs of human beings is the first prerequisite of the architect's successful creation'. Composition is related to practicality, so much so that 'something unpractical can never be beautiful'.[24] It follows from this that the architect should not sacrifice the interior structure to an external motif. Similarly,

> An apartment house that for no reason parades projections, towers and domes or that swaggers under the mask of a palace, so-called stylish furniture upon which one sits uncomfortably all produce the foolish stupid effect, and all are thus artistic lies'.[25]

Instead of a preoccupation with creating illusions and 'artistic lies' the composition should concern itself with practicalities (financial, locational, materials used, etc.) and should conform to them rather than following the converse.

As far as modernity is concerned, Wagner maintains that 'our modern epoch prefers grand effects, which have their origin in the requirements of the hitherto unachieved concentration of human beings in large cities', and which have hardly been faced hitherto in the history of architecture. Composition as the 'strategy' of architecture must concern itself with the modern monumental, it must bring monuments in harmony with squares, for example, and not vice-versa. Similarly, 'artistic economy also belongs to composition'. Indeed, here

> The simple, practical, one might almost say, military aspect of our mode of viewing things must be fully and totally be expressed if the emergent work is to be a true reflection [Spiegelbild] of our time'.[26]

In the third edition (expanded in 1901), the interaction between ornament and architectural form is dealt with in this context, in a manner that possibly prefigures some of Loos's discussion:

> In the application of figural and ornamental adornment, modernity proceeds impressionistically and adopts only those lines whose certain effect for the eyes can be reckoned with. From this, there emerges in the new style [Neustil] the passing over (flowing together) of the techtonic form in the figural, the least possible application of figural ornamentation as such ..[27]

It should be noted here that Wagner gets no closer to identifying the modern style than the notion of the 'new style' - and not Jugendstil, even in its constructivist versions.

This concern for architecture's effect upon the observer and the appropriateness to modern times is continued in Wagner's rejection (in the second edition of 1898) of old styles (especially 'old German') for particular objects and the rejection of attempt to create

'what is ' "intimate" or "intimacy" in the architecture of the metropolis' since this 'can only be expressed in the interior construction, for in public interaction [Verkehr] it does in fact no longer exist'.[28] Interaction in the modern metropolis lack intimacy and it would therefore be creating an illusion to seek to artificially construct what no longer exists.

The major part of the aesthetic effect of an architectural composition Wagner reserves for symmetry and perspective. The asymmetrical should be used only where it is absolutely necessary. Perspectival effects can sometimes be obtained from 'two viewing distances' - of the facade from the street or square and at a greater distance (for towers etc.,) for the skyline. Here Wagner particularly commends the Baroque. There are a whole range of factors which heighten the sensuous effect of buildings, squares and streets and the observer's horizontal and vertical angles of vision. This is particularly important in 'our modern epoch which ... especially values all large dimensions' - and the monumental.

The construction of a building and the activity of construction has its origin in both utility and a sense of beauty:

> Need, purpose, construction and idealism are .. the primitive germs of artistic life. United in a single notion they form a kind of "necessity" in the emergence and existence of every work of art, and hence the meaning of the words: "Artis sola domina necessitas"[29]

Semper's conception already indicates the unity of realism and idealism, such that the pure principle of utility could never displace art completely. This leads Wagner to insist upon the proposition that 'every architectural form has emerged out of construction and has successfully become an art form'. And following from his earlier statement that forms of art change (in response to needs, materials, etc.), Wagner proposes that,

> new constructions must also give birth to new forms. Our most modern epoch, like no earlier one, has brought into existence the largest number of such constructions (think merely of the success of iron).[30]

It was Semper who recognised the significance of this development but, according to Wagner, stopped short at 'symbolic construction' instead of naming construction itself as 'the primary cell of architecture'. It is the architect who develops the art form out of construction. But conversely, the engineer who is concerned with construction and does not consider emergent art forms will also contribute to the unintelligibility of buildings since the language of engineering is unsympathetic to human beings. Given the necessary specialisation and division of labour in modern society, both engineer and architect must work together in a unified manner.

If construction is so significant, what are the factors which influence it? In the modern period these include production time (labour time), the application of new materials (e.g. new exterior cladding materials reduce the volume of stone required), the application of machinery, the application of local building materials to give a 'local character' to the structure, etc. Amongst the most important of new materials is iron, and its artistic formation can create 'new forms' and 'thereby give one of the greatest impulses to the emergence of the new style [Neustil]'.[31]

A less positive factor is the value of time which is so important to modern human beings. This has a number of consequences. One is the (for Wagner) erroneous conception that 'our modern building method, because it is rapidly accelerated, must also be very unsolid'. The actual reason for this misconception lies in speculative building which is inimical to artistic creation. This is especially true of the rented housing block [Miethaus]:

> In the case of our rented apartment blocks, which indeed owe their existence only to the tendency for "capital accumulation", the time allotted to the architect for the completion of his work is always measured very frugally.[32]

In contrast, monumental structures require greater time and the production of a model. It is, of course, the rented apartment block which is the focus of the first year of Wagner's teaching programme and the monumental, public building in the second year.

Greater insight into Wagner's conception of modern architecture - often drawing upon his earlier contribution to the General Regulation Plan competition - is provided in his discussion of artistic practice. Although Wagner's text has often been criticized for its unstructured content and although Wagner himself acknowledges that he wishes to 'emphasize individual important aspects of artistic practice that particularly touch upon modern architecture', his procedure does possess a quite general order. The aspects that are emphasized move from outside to inside, from the city and its planning to the interiors, from city planning, through streets, squares and parks, dwellings, transport systems, outer city districts and villa, factory and dwelling districts, monuments to interiors. Notably, monuments do not fit easily into this sequence.

Aside from some remarks on how architectural projects are to be presented ('Secessionist, ornamented with symbols'), Wagner's opening proposition is that

> The most modern of that which is modern in architecture are indeed our present day metropolitan cities. Their unprecedented size has given rise to an immense number of new questions that require their solution in architecture.[33]

Architecture in the modern period is thus confronted with new practical problems in the modern metropolis arising out of a quantitative expansion ('unprecedented size') in urbanisation. The planning or regulation of the metropolis therefore must respond to 'urgent needs' requiring a 'rational solution'. In turn, any satisfactory solution 'according to modern views' must be in term of the unity of art and purpose [Zweck], although in city planning the purposive [Zweckmässige] element must have precedence (whilst at the same time avoiding artistic 'vandalism').

Any metropolitan regulation itself has two independent parts: the one dealing with 'the periphery of the city that is still to be created', and the other with the inner city 'that must accommodate the desire for a new configuration to the sea of houses, the artistic monuments, pre-existing structures and spaces'.[34] Wagner maintains that it is a mistake to concentrate on the latter (perhaps a reference to Sitte in this respect) and to treat the periphery as secondary, since 'some things required in the future (roads, parks, food provision, sanitation and snow removal, supply of materials, transportation of corpses, the distribution of railway stations, the grouping of district buildings, etc.) are easier, more beautiful and cheaper when the city is planned on a general scale'. In particular, the periphery has been seriously neglected in Vienna; indeed its 'periphery cannot be excelled by the proverbial Hungarian village'.

Wagner's discussion of streets and squares largely repeats his earlier remarks from the Regulation Plan with specific recommendations for lengths of streets, squares without the ubiquitous gardens. On public buildings in squares, Wagner detects an excessive regard to utility, an antipathy towards the monumental and a general lack of finance, all of which have combined to produce 'a lie that attempts to cover the error' that is visible in 'the overdone apartment block facade', and 'the stuck on facade type'.[35] All this produces 'the swindle-like dimensions abounding in lies reminiscent of Potemkin villages' - a reference later taken up by Loos in his 'Potemkin City' essay in July 1898.[36]

With regard to dwellings, a feature of modernity is that 'people's modes of living are daily becoming more alike', a process strongly suppressing the individual dwelling and creating 'our present day uniformity of apartment house blocks'. Hence, compared with London, Paris or Berlin, 'in no other city than our own does the modern apartment rental block [Miethaus] play such a large role'.[37] Wagner highlights a number of distinctive

features of this Viennese building type with regard to their economic foundation, their reflection of a levelling tendency and their illusory facades. In Vienna,

> objects of rent [Miethobjekte] correctly termed "interest houses" [Zinshäuser] not infrequently extend 6 and 7 stories above street level. The similar, multistorey building types with a larger owner's dwelling on the main floor, emphasized in its outer appearance are dying out. Department stores and the single family house are eliminated from this category. Our contemporary apartment houses, conditioned by the economic situation, pursue no other purpose than to achieve the greatest possible yield on invested building capital through the piling up of small, easily rented dwellings in a single building.
> Once the rental value of the individual storeys becomes relatively equal as the result of introducing an elevator, a natural consequences of this must be that the external artistic design as a means of distinguishing storeys can no longer be conceived of and that architectural designs that seeks their motifs in palace architecture can be characterised as completely misguided precisely because they contradict the internal structure of the building.[38]

Wagner therefore recommends that modern apartment block facades consist of flat surfaces broken by many equally proportioned windows. This levelling process and formal equalisation (never complete) of living spaces is only part of the standardisation that is a feature of modernity. A principal impulse for this process is economic and, in Wagner's view, it is not the task of the architect to struggle against economic trends nor 'to cloak them in a lie' but rather to do justice to them artistically. This means, for Wagner, that 'the simple corresponds best to our present views', whereas 'the viewpoints of pure utility and overloaded tastelessness are .. to be opposed under all circumstances'.[39]

Simplicity and practicality should be considered when appraising the street and cityscape. Wagner detects an important new physiological change in this context, namely the transformation of the observer's capacity:

> the modern eye has lost the small intimate scale, and become accustomed to fewer often changing images, to longer straight lines, to more extended surfaces, to larger masses.[40]

Applied to the ubiquitous apartment blocks, this requires decorating the surface with contrasting images and simple details, deliberate highlighting of structure and avoiding wild designs. What Wagner does not consider in the context of 'the modern eye' is modern transport systems, some of which, such as the elevated railway (and much of Wagner's own Stadtbahn), 'offer the traveller some pleasure through free and rapidly changing outlook'.[41]

The 'modern eye' needs to become accustomed to the modern: the larger scale, straight lines, flat extended surfaces, larger masses. Rapidly changing images, contrary to Wagner's view, are a feature of metropolitan observation. However, the emphasis upon the modern implies that 'a modern metropolis cannot and should not have the appearance of ancient Rome or of old Nuremberg'. The picturesque effect is to be avoided in the streetscape. Wagner favours the straight line of the street where possible because 'a person always goes in a straight line' and because for the person in a hurry the shortest distance takes the least time in an age where the phrase 'time is money' has become commonplace. Where necessary, the curved street does contribute to the variety of the cityscape and may be appropriate for traffic too. But the concern for breaking down the monotony of the straight line and making the cityscape richer in variations [abwechslungsreicher] again contradicts Wagner's delineation of the 'modern eye' or at least seeks to introduce compensations for its.

With respect to transport systems, Wagner maintains that all forms of streetcar transport disfigures the image of the city street. When confronted with the choice of elevated or underground railway, the latter is seen as unpleasant for the travelling public (perhaps only steam engines are envisaged). As has been indicated, the elevated railway provides a view of the city - a moving panorama (although Wagner does not use this term) - but may conflict with city dwellers' desire 'to retain as beautiful as possible cityscape'.

The extension of urban transport systems is accompanied by the expansion of the suburbs and periphery of the city. One modern development is the detached suburban dwelling, taken over by building speculation and creating a new city and street type, the cottage or villa design'. Duplicated endlessly as single types they are popularly condemned as creating 'villa cemeteries' [Villenfriedhof], an 'aesthetic boredom'.[42] In general, there is a need 'to eliminate that revolting, gingerbread-like, ornamental jumble of our suburban buildings'.[43] Still less aesthetically appealing is the effect of our pollution creating smoke and rust whose alleviation may be aided by locating factories on the periphery of the city (Wagner's only reference to factories in the volume) and introducing technology to reduce emissions.

Of the social, political and economic influences upon the modes of building in the metropolis, and aside from Wagner's plea to build neither totally through utilitarian impulses nor the desire solely to create the picturesque, there are no specific social factors that are highlighted (aside from the putative levelling process) and politically it is democracy which is seen as having given a new impulse to modern architecture. This is manifested on the one hand in the decline in sovereign will, in major individual initiatives and in intimacy and on the other in 'our colossal buildings (exhibition, railway stations, parliaments, etc.)'.

In a telling contrast between outside and inside, Wagner in effect juxtaposes the 'uncertainty' in the external appearance of the city in the 1901 version a chaos of disorder on the street) on the one hand, and 'modern humanity's desire for an architecture of the interior' that provides 'the greatest possible convenience [although Wagner uses the term Bequemlichkeit explicitly to counter the false contemporary associations of Comfort - D.F.] and the greatest possible cleanliness' on the other.[44] In the 1901 additional passages on Vienna, Wagner refers to open street markets with their 'outrageous piles of dirt,

bacteria cultures', an 'unmatched shabby appearance of streets', and other areas with their 'much to strongly cambered street surfaces', 'the awful "disorder" of our building alignments', our 'telegraph posts standing in all wind directions', the 'totally arbitrarily, located masts for overhead current of electrically drived vehicles' - in short, 'a really chaotic total image'[45] of the streetscape.

For its part, the traditional interior has also been full of 'stylistic rubbish' often displaying an 'unspeakably depressing eclecticism', used 'to drag in the inappropriate architecture of palaces to solve the problems of profane and monumental building', but also apparent in interiors full of impractical things, difficult to clean, oriental carpets and the like (a Makart interior would be an exemplar here). The impulse for a new artistic form for useful objects emerged out of artistic innovation rather than the artistic needs of the public. In particular, the new applied arts movement became so successful that mass copies of such articles stamped as 'Secession' entered circulation.

But of equal significance is the artistic form of the interior itself which should accord with its inhabitants, and specifically the notion that

> 'the appearance and function of the inhabitants should harmonize with the appearance of the room. It is really an artistic absurdity that people in evening dress, in lawn tennis and bicycling outfits in uniform or checkered breeches should spend their existence in interiors that appear executed in the styles of past centuries. The room that we inhabit should be simple, like our clothing.[46]

Instead of the earlier heavy rooms, modern interiors should be light, well aired and well-lit with electric lighting.

The 'thousand upon thousand of things' invented by modern culture require a modern form or at least one which translates existing forms in accordance with our present needs up to the point at which 'that ideal of beauty has been reached which corresponds to the totality of the epoch'.[47] This requires us to observe and recognize clearly modern human needs 'but not in order for we modernists to copy what exists in an inappropriate

manner or to dish up what already exists with minor changes as new and good'. The arts' genuine accommodation to modern needs should reveal that 'the task of art is to serve human beings and not that human beings are there for art'.

In his conclusion, Wagner admits that his intention has only been 'to give expression to his convictions merely in the briefest form'.[48] Although the intention is 'to approach the path ... to a modern architecture', and even though a full answer to the question 'How should we build?' cannot be given, Wagner in effect offers a number of suggestions for the future relating to the following: design, structure and materials; artistic expression of modern human beings; the rejection of copies of past forms; the creation of an intelligible architecture appropriate to modern times; and a genuine appropriation of the past. For design, structure and materials 'the horizontal line of antiquity, the tabular perfection, the greatest simplicity and an energetic advancement of construction and material in the future extended and newly created art form will dominate strongly; it is conditioned by modern technology and by the means that are offered to us'. On artistic expression, 'the expression of beauty which architecture will give to the needs of our time, must correspond to the views and the appearance of modern human beings'. With regard to copies of past forms, we must reject 'all best intentioned and erroneously defended doctrines concerning the application of stylistically pure and well copied forms of previous centuries which no longer stand in any relationship at all to modern human beings.' On the creation of an intelligible, modern architecture, those who follow the recommendations of Wagner's text will be,

> what the architects of all epochs were, children of their time; their works will carry their own stamp, they will fulfil their task as progressive developers and will have a truly creative effect: their language will be intelligible to humanity, in their works the world will recognize its own mirror image, and self consciousness, individuality and conviction ... will fill their breasts'.[49]

On the appropriation of the past, modern architects will 'wish to avoid the error ... of irreverently ignoring or destroying the works of their own predecessors and bring the work handed down to us like jewels in appropriate setting, in order that they are retained by us as graphic illustration of the history of art'. All this will be undertaken in the context of 'a fresh, pulsating life' of modern society.

II

Wagner's Moderne Architektur, for all its theoretical ambiguities, had a major impact upon modern architectural practice in Vienna. It was not received with uncritical acclaim, as might be expected from a work which attacked architectural practice of recent decades (including, by implication only, Wagner's own earlier work) in Vienna. However, before examining the critical contemporary reaction to this work, it is worthwhile exploring the nature of the text itself.

It has been suggested by Schachel that the text is merely a reworking of student lecture notes taken in Wagner's first year of teaching at the Akademie der bildende Künste and that these notes probably emanate from Max Fabiani.[50] Schachel does not present definitive evidence for this view and, even thought such notes may have been a point of reference for Wagner, the rhetorical nature of the text accords with Wagner's other written interventions on architectural affairs in Vienna. The text proved to be one to which Wagner added on three subsequent occasions in 1898, 1901 and 1913 (with the latter version published in 1914 as Die Baukunst unserer Zeit, in response to works by Muthesius and Scheffler utilizing polemically the concept of Baukunst (art of building) instead of architecture.[51]

However, recent interpretations of Wagner's text by Tafuri[52] and Czech[53] have pointed to some of its problematical features. With reference to Wagner's texts in general and his language, Czech maintains that they are not theoretical in nature but rather arguments on architectural practice:

> With objectivity against the banal dimension in art; with art against the banality of objectivity. These are the two basic parameters of the Wagnerian polemic. Wagner does not communicate their dialectical connection; his writings offer no theory, but rather arguments about practice.[54]

If this argument is accepted then the contemporary response to Moderne Architektur becomes more transparent. Its critics could readily attack its often slender theoretical underpinnings whilst actually being more concerned with its often aggressive rhetoric against architectural theory and their opposition to modernity.

The problematic status of Wagner's theory or weak theoretical argumentation can be viewed also in relation to Wagner's practice. This is the perspective taken by Tafuri when he maintains that

> it is impossible to deduce from Wagner as theorist the implications of his "compositions". Neither Moderne Architektur nor Die Grossstadt, nor Wagner's articles can "explain" his architecture. Those writings say only what verbal language can say about the conditions for meaning in another language. Hence, they can only assert the need to start from words which have not been contaminated by ambiguity: not from observation that is shackled by linguistic prejudices nor observation that attempts to see beyond itself.[55]

There are a number of points to be made about Tafuri's argument here. First, there is the suggestion that the language of architecture and the language of texts are discrete separate entities lacking the possibilities of translation. Such a view perhaps accords with Eco's argument that architecture does not 'communicate',[56] but runs counter to Benjamin's intertextual interpretation of the city and the text.[57] Second, even if this critique is rejected,

there remains a consistent attempt by Tafuri to devalue Wagner's textual explorations of architectural practice and its problems. Third, the reference to starting 'from words which have not been contaminated by ambiguity' or by 'observation' surely runs counter to the nature of Wagner's Moderne Architektur. Wagner proposes acute observation of the modern metropolis and modern needs in order that the architect (and the architectural theorist implicity) may adequately relate to them. But more importantly, the whole text is 'contaminated' by ambiguity, not least in Wagner's whole usage of the term 'modernity', whose status is transformed in the 1895, 1898 and 1901 variants and which, as die Moderne, refers both to an object, a reality (modernity), and an aesthetic response to that object, that reality (modernism). As we have seen earlier, the ambiguity and contradictions were apparent to those who had followed recent architectural discussion in Vienna in previous decades. Although Tafuri cites Semper, Riegl and Simmel in his argument on modern architecture, he does not refer to contemporary discussion of modernity. For the moment, the contemporary reviews and discussion of Moderne Architektur, neglected by Tafuri, deserve analysis, especially with reference to their examination of modernity. The contemporary response to Wagner's manifesto is explored in some detail since, as so often in the study of modernity, the opposition to modernity often articulates some of its features more clearly than do the texts of its supporters.

III

The first major review of Moderne Architektur (written in December 1896 and published in the Deutsche Bauzeitung in January 1897)[58] is by the architect and planner Karl Henrici. Henrici detects in Wagner one who is convinced that,

> he alone as architect and teacher is a modern person who has correctly recognised the spirit of the times and who alone strives to fill this spirit of the times with ideals of beauty and to allow it to be mirrored in art. [However] others too have confronted this

> task but have turned to other ideals of beauty, because they believe they are able to gain quite different sides of the spirit of the times, which they take equally to be just as appropriate for art as those which O.W. holds to be exemplary.[59]

At several points in his review, Henrici returns to the onesidedness of Wagner's perspective on modernity and an appropriate modern architecture. In particular, this is manifested in an almost exclusive concentration

> upon the technical achievements of the modern period, on the anticipated ever increasing perfection of modern means of transport and upon metropolitan life. But...this part of the spirit of the times with its tendency towards uniformity, penetrating through all the pores of the life of the people in such a manner that hardly any place for other things remains which lies outside that of world transport and the life of acquisition and which I wish to indicate with the term soul of the people [Volksgemüth][60]

The kind of modern life to which Wagner refers and the tasks of modern architecture 'are already solved in a practical sense in America', and although modern metropolitan life will receive an appropriate architectural expression we do not need merely to welcome this. Rather, 'artists of all countries' should take as their most important task 'the cultivation of a distinctive national art'.[61] Wagner's references to the genius loci makes no reference to the notion of 'national consciousness'. With the decline in the church's power and the increase in materialism, some ideal is all the more necessary in art and 'the love of the Fatherland' should be such an ideal.

Wagner's ideal image of the modern city is one that favours 'horizontalism' and the straight line whereas Henrici maintains that 'we in Germany (but not in Berlin) are beginning to breath again as a result of active progressive works delivering us from the yoke of traffic lines'. Here Henrici repeats his arguments against the straight line. Similarly, Henrici questions Wagner's emphasis upon the simple, practical and almost

military modern perspective, which he sees as appropriate for public buildings, barracks, schools, etc., but 'with respect to the remaining part of architectural work I would rather be reminded of the diversity of human interests and the moving poetry of life, which springs from the freedom of thoughts and feelings and which follows no orders, than be reminded of the military parade'.[62] No less authoritative appears to be Wagner's imputation of power to the academic teacher which, for Henrici, fails to take account of non-academic paths to artistic achievement.

In more general terms, with regard to Wagner's conception of modernity, Henrici points to a plurality of possibilities, arising out of the fact

> that different "modern human beings" view the dominant spirit of the times in a diverse manner and can read from it different things, and that in accordance with the same viewpoint, remain progressively true to the spirit of the times. Hence, the future images of architecture must turn out differently.[63]

This important differentiation of the modern not taken up by Wagner, is reflected upon in different contexts by Loos and Ernst Bloch as the problem of the 'non contemporaneity of the contemporaneous'.

Henrici's review makes no reference to the anonymous critical attack upon Wagner's volume that appeared early in 1897, and was published anonymously in Vienna as a twenty eight page brochure under the title 'Modern Architecture, Professor Otto Wagner and the Truth Concerning Both' [Moderne Architektur Prof. Otto Wagner und die Wahrheit über beide].[64] (I.55) There has been much speculations as to authorship but no firm conclusions have been reached. At all events, the author was someone well acquainted with Viennese circumstances.[65]

The sharply worded critique of Wagner's 'new gospel' from 'the Viennese architectural popery' is viewed by its author as necessary since, 'it would be unwise to

Title Page of Anonymous Tract

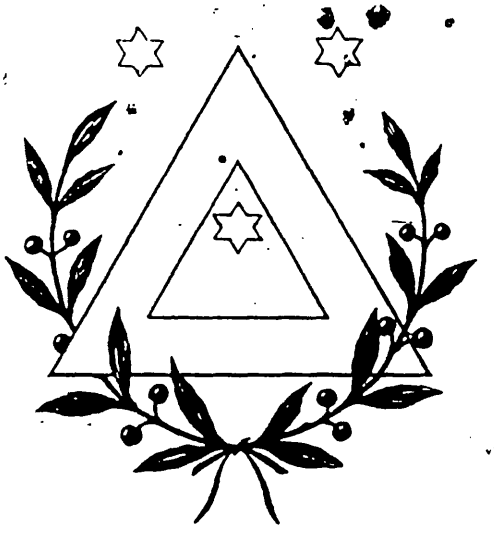
I.55

MODERNE ARCHITEKTUR

PROF. OTTO WAGNER

UND DIE

WAHRHEIT ÜBER BEIDE.



WIEN, 1897.

SPIELHAGEN & SCHURICH.

VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG.

I., KUMPFGASSE 7.

ignore this announcement, and more foolish to tolerate it'.[66] This is not least because 'at present many young, and some promising talent is rallying around the flag of "modernity"; of modernity in all spheres, in architecture too'. In Vienna its sole rallying point is Wagner's architecture school, and its head Wagner himself who, upon his appointment to the chair of architecture, disappointed those who knew his earlier work:

> Out of the fully matured artist there emerged an artistic experimenter, a devoted sensationalist addicted to originality, a train-bearer of fashion, a devotee of affected, brutal, gallic architectural materialism.[67]

The products of this school at the last annual exhibition (of 1896)

> to some extent gave the impression of architectural anarchism. What brutal licence alongside totally conscious degeneracy [Entartung]! What unworthy concessions to the tiresome originality - dilettantism![63]

Beyond this initial denunciatory rhetoric - unchecked experimentation, sensationalism, fashion, foreignness (French), anarchism, degeneracy, dilettantism - of the anti-modern world view, the author's critique of Moderne Architektur is somewhat more tempered.

Wagner's assertion that the starting point of contemporary artistic creation can only be modern life is either a platitude or 'a colossal error', as well as begging the question as to the nature of this modern life. If by modern life we mean the whole of the contemporary historical phase with which art must accord then this is merely 'an impoverished tautology'. If 'modern life' refers only to a specific group of phenomena then this too is suspect insofar as art is held to be dependent upon 'specifically unartistic' phenomena.

On the question of the creation of a new style, Wagner seriously underestimates the contribution of outstanding generations of recent architects (such as Schinkel, Semper, Hansen, Schmidt, etc.) in order to present his call for a new style as based on a tabula rasa. The earlier generations in the century also represented the modern in their works rather

than Wagner's view that in contrast 'all his predecessors were consciously unmodern artists who consciously created anachronistic works'.[69] To accept Wagner's argument is to identify the '"modern" as a creation or discovery of precisely our present day..[and] equally "fashion" as the solely present-day "modern".' Therefore,

> Otto Wagner will never be able to convince us that a full half century, that the whole of modern architecture before and alongside it signifies a pure flop [Niete] in art history, that on the contrary all the major and often splendid work in this long time period decisively and without question also belong to modern art, despite the fact that in their so-called style they lean more or less strictly upon past discoveries that, as it were, express themselves in it.

Wagner's fundamental error, however, is that 'he views modern architecture in its emergence and not as having occurred, that he views it prospectively and not retrospectively (which at the present time is of course still totally impossible)'.[71]

Viewed retrospectively, Wagner's own works have been produced in 'a historical artistic style strictly tabooed by him today, in the style of so-called Florentine Renaissance' which many view as his best work. Logically, Wagner should place them too alongside his 'index of artistic errors'. As for the association of modern architecture with fashion and Wagner's examples of the 'man in the modern travelling outfit' is concerned, one may say of his appearance 'for instance in a Tyrolean inn: simultaneously pitiful and laughable'. Such responses running counter to Wagner's assertions can be made at many points in his text. So too the inconsistencies within Wagner's text are all too apparent, as when in one section he plays with 'a certain cosmopolitan nuancing of our modern world view' and elsewhere appeal to 'the times and fashion' and then see both in the service of nationalism.

The most decisive weaknesses are to be found, however, in Wagner's treatment of construction in architecture. In particular, Wagner's use of Semper's views on construction and the latter's putative excessive departure from a materialist position is seen

as inappropriate and erroneous. What is revealing in this critique is the critic's assumption that Wagner is a materialist and that this materialism has now been transcended and, we have shaken off 'the shackles of this world view' and escaped from its 'unworthy enslavement'. The current situation is one of 'a natural and powerful reaction against materialism', against the 'dry empiricism' of the natural sciences, against 'economic materialism' and replacement with 'ethical values of life', and 'finally art has almost completely overcome the phase of so called Realism, which is nothing other than materialism'. In the arts, this materialism has been replaced by a 'totally new direction', one that is a 'striving for intellectual value,...anti materialist, anti realist tendency'.[72] The author of Moderne Architektur, however, seeks to keep architecture within 'the yoke of materialism for all future time'.

Wagner's misreading of architectural history is thus complemented by his misreading of the present. His statement that 'the architect always has to develop the art form from construction' is in fact, an 'obsolete platitude deriving from a previous artistic error'. Similarly, Wagner should recognise 'how double-edged..the appeal is to that which one terms fashion or spirit of the times, how rapidly and often unnoticed this concept transposes itself into its opposite'.[73]

The critic is especially exercised by Wagner's prioritisation of construction as the creative, formative principle on the grounds that

> our whole engineering constructions, our iron bridges and tunnels, even perhaps the "machine in itself" have arisen only through the power of this principle of formation; yet although they are many things they are not for this reason works of art. And precisely because such a state of affairs especially in our times, with its highly developed absolute-technical building methods, has developed almost to perfection an absolute-constructive language of forms, as it were, precisely for this reason we are also in a position to recognise with greater certainty than any period before us...that the likes of this have absolutely nothing directly in common with art, that art...is not

> "democratic" conviction but rather quite genuinely and in the good sense" aristocratic" conviction.[74]

It is therefore all the more erroneous to cast art 'into the arms of this monster "fashion"'.

Although much of what Wagner says of artistic practice is true it is often badly expressed. Wagner's contribution to city planning whose foundation is 'antihistorical' and contrasts poorly with Sitte's purely historical artistic interpretation. In general, Wagner's volume is a tendentious text which runs the danger of creating serious disorientation 'in the quiet progress of modern artistic development'.

That this anonymous critique of Wagner's Moderne Architektur was rapidly circulated in architecture circles in Vienna is indicted by its own referencing and review in March 1897 in the Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung (anonymously)[75], by Josef von Dahlen in the same year[76] and in 1898 in the most detailed confrontation with Wagner's volume by Richard Streiter.[77]

The reviewer in the Wiener-Bauindustrie-Zeitung claims that Wagner's volume has already generated a 'lively agreement' and 'even more lively contradiction' from the anonymous pamphlet of which, it is generally assumed, 'that if not authored then at least has been inspired by an architect of no less a reputation than Professor Wagner'.[78] Many of Wagner's recommendations are praised in the review, including his explicit call for architectural training to focus upon the metropolis - a 'viewpoint that has certainly never before publicly and openly expressed'. The reviewer is less impressed by Wagner's contribution to 'the most modern of modern tasks of architecture, .. city planning, the question of urban regulation. Yet it cannot be claimed that the author brings anything especially new here',[79] in contrast to Sitte's, Stübben's, and Wagner's own earlier contribution to the Vienna regulation plan competition. The reviewer in the Wiener-Bauindustrie-Zeitung concludes with a reflection on the forum to which the architect's

work is directed - to posterity. Genuine works belong to no temporal epoch but to humanity. The assertion of their relevance for modern times raises the question: 'who will step forward and be the judge of the concepts of his age and of his contemporaries?'[80]

Dahlen's more extensive review commences with problems facing the historian of modern architecture, especially in a context in which for the appellation 'modern architecture', 'we do not possess a style in the sense of a specific unified artistic mode'.[81] For this and other reasons, Dahlen claims that

> The future historian of modern architecture will undoubtedly have no easy task to master. He will have to be both artist, philosopher and sociologist alike in order to discover from our epoch the changes, transformations and contradictions in all material and intellectual areas those factors that have exerted their influence, be it constraining or facilitating, upon our whole art and imprinted their distinctive stamp upon it.[82]

As this perspective makes clear, Dahlen offers a valuable general contextual review of modern architecture as well as a detailed critique of Wagner's volume.

For Dahlen, the context for understanding Wagner's text lies in the recent developments in Vienna. These include the earlier domination of 'the mechanical interpretation' of the world which, ironically, created a positive path for art and architecture. It was materialism which 'caught up in the external appearance of things, negating a suprasensual essence of the world of appearances, necessarily sought and finally found its goal in the material welfare of individual elements'.[83] The mass of commodities, wealth and surplus and the dramatic expansion of cities all stimulated architectural expansion. But architecture, 'the most conservative of the arts', in Vienna and elsewhere had 'slumbered too long or only managed an illusory existence' and failed to generate its own new 'language of forms' or style, in part because it lacked 'artistic tradition'. The consequence was that, influenced too by 'the building companies and patrons' and the

'longing for really new, crude effects grounded in the materialist current of the times', modern architecture 'achieved a sample card of all possible styles but could not attain a style of its own'.

Thus, when the impulse came to extend the city with the Ringstrasse development, Vienna had its 'Semper and Hansen, Schmidt and Ferstel', each of whom was an 'artistic individuality', but none of whom could create the 'artistic unified collective effort' which the 'Italian high Renaissance' could have created. Instead, monumental structures appeared by architects who 'each sought to realise each of his works in their purity and, where possible, isolation', leaving dissonant neighbouring structures in conflict with one another.

In the present time, however, Dahlen maintains that 'artistic life in Vienna finds itself in a kind of fermentation, a fresh, happy current makes itself felt, the conflict of opinions has become livelier and more fruitful and has recently even culminated in an interesting literary duel' between Wagner and the 'author in the closed helmet's visor'[84] - that is, the author of the anonymous critique of Wagner's volume.

Dahlen counters Wagner's assertion that architecture must take as its sole starting point modern life with the argument that the recent period in architecture also viewed itself as equally 'modern' and serving modern needs. The recent period was even creative 'insofar as it first brought the principle of "inner spatial structure" of the exterior to monumental expression'. Semper's theatre design is itself modern and, Dahlen asks, 'was not Hansen's Heinrichshof a template exemplar for a modern rented housing block [Zinhaus]?'[85] Dahlen therefore maintains that only the future will teach us 'what is common to the diversity, what is the specifically unique, in our times'.

Wagner's association of the modern with fashion is also found to be highly questionable. Indeed this is viewed by Dahlen as 'the major error' of Wagner's argument, especially where he

> uncritically compares the confrontation of architecture and costume of our times with past cultural epochs, when he simply sets our times against the standard of vanished times. The latter, which he holds before us as a mirror image, stood more or less under the dominating influence of a unified cultural conception.[86]

In contrast, when we observe our present times, a totally different image presents itself, however lively we might view contemporary artistic development. Its products

> lead an isolated existence, they obviously did not grow out of the broad basis of the people, no common impulsive trait of the times has creatively enriched them, they penetrate into industry gradually from school confronting a sheer overpowering enemy, factory production; thus they present themselves as mere fragmentary phenomena of our total culture.[87]

Today, in place of religion as a formative cultural influence, 'rationalism predominates, that which can be measured by reason, that which is instrumental'. But this rationalism does not positively impress itself upon the totality of external phenomena. Rather, 'what is formally common to it is something negative. It is the absence of a formative principle [Gestaltungsprinzip]'. This rationalism possesses 'no other content than that of the particular practical purpose' in all its diversity. It should be the task of art to bring this fragmented diversity together again as a totality (as in the Hellenistic world).

Wagner's conviction, however, is that architecture should 'cling to the phenomena of specifically modern life, subordinate itself in a formal relationship to it and thereby nonetheless - remain art'.[88] Dahlen's reading of 'rationalism' in the modern world (with its affinities to Tönnies, Weber and Lukács - whose early work addressed the absent totality of the present) provides him with a foundation for a critique of Wagner's response to

modernity. To 'cling to' the fragmentary modern life is to abandon the attempt to create a totality. Indeed, Dahlen suggests that one can follow Wagner's argument here 'ad absurdum' with reference to fashion, modern life and architecture and the putative desired harmony of architecture with clothing, the modern traveller in tourist costume with the railway waiting room and the sleeping car.

Clothing in modern times has adapted itself to a multitude of specific purposes, including costumes for every sport (directed more to maximizing 'movement' and creating 'records' than bodily harmony). Wagner's elevation of fashion into 'the forum for the judgment of architecture' calls into question the foundations for the evaluation of art. It is,

> The same fashion that in our fast living times, indeed lusting for what is new, leaving no time for quiet comfort, more than ever the playground for wild day dreams, female caprices and tailor's fantasies? More than that, architecture should follow fashion, which is "the obvious, readily assimilable, easier to be influenced preparatory stage of style"! ... the author wishes to reduce eternal art to fleeting fashion.[89]

This modern conjunction of the fleeting and the eternal in what is trivial, feminine and fantastic is all the more questionable for Dahlen (and other critics) since for all contemporaries the reference to clothing [Kleidung] in fashion simultaneously recalls Semper's theory of clothing or cladding in modern architecture. If we ask 'from what elements of modern life modern style develops', then Wagner's answer is 'construction and its new materials'. This recourse to Semper's view 'that purpose, construction and material technology, working together with the moulding impulse, allows the emergence of the architectural work of art' is accepted by Dahlen, but not that 'materials and construction' - which do influence the art form - are that which make a work of art into a work of art. The 'art form' is, for Dahlen, to be fundamentally distinguished from the 'work form' [Werkform], just as Semper maintains that art forms do not emerge directly

out of construction but are mediated by the 'so-called clothing principle'. Hence, contrary to Wagner's view, 'new constructions and new materials do not necessarily lead to new styles and "new forms".'[90] New materials such as iron, which is a constructive auxiliary means of a subordinate kind, cannot themselves be a formal element of modernity.

A similar confusion pervades Wagner's identification of modernity with the striving for truth, which fails to distinguish 'between real and artistic truth':

> If we allow the former to penetrate art, then this real truth leads to that crass realism which has pervaded the spheres of literature and art in the very recent past. But these arts are already on the path to reversing this situation.[91]

Like the anonymous reviewer earlier, Dahlen detects a realist and materialist in Wagner's polemic.

The most extensive critique of Wagner's manifesto appeared in 1898 from the architect (who had worked in Paul Wallot's atelier for over five years), academic and critic Richard Streiter. Yet a number of Streiter's critical essays from 1896 on other topics already address themes in Wagner's volume but without reference to Wagner himself. Although it is not clear whether Streiter was already reading Wagner's Moderne Architektur immediately upon its publication, some of these earlier issues raised are worthy of brief mention.

In an article on 'German Applied Arts and the English-American Movement' (1896)[92], Streiter examines the relationship between style, fashion and modernity. The question as to which new style should we follow can no longer be answered by recourse to the next historically sequential style. It is slowly dawning upon some at least that 'despite this fashionable style or stylistic fashion we are actually quite styleless, that we will remain equally styleless the more we concern ourselves with being stylish and "genuine" by adhering as closely as possible to past historical periods'.[93] Despite the persistent

preference for stylish interiors, their present form is often contradictory. Indeed, in interiors fitted out in the apparel of previous epochs (I.56), does not 'a sharp dissonance exist, the dissonance between the features of the room and the people who circulate in the room?' In fact, Streiter - more clearly than Wagner - explores this dissonance further:

> As long as we modern human beings in our modern clothes move around in Renaissance, Roccoco or Empire rooms, just so long does the total impression remain unstylish. And even if we were decked out in costumes matching the style of the rooms, this disjunction would not be transcended; then we would really appear as masked, we would really feel the sharp divide that exists between our whole humanity, our thought, feelings, and desires and that style which surrounds us. Modern homes strictly dressed in the stylistic character of a past age appear like theatre decorations, in which the acting persons do not belong .... Periods have indeed existed when in certain circles a kind of developed costume festival was celebrated, e.g. in the Roccoco court society. But our present day life is certainly no costume festival; it is serious, often bitterly serious, it is a life full of restless work in all spheres, a life full of practical demands that with equal inexorability are made on almost all of us. These practical demands require their rights in art too; but they are not enemies of art, as many believe. They only oppose themselves against an art that is not truthful, that is not rooted in the life conditions of the time.[94]

As long as we continue to create interiors that are like 'sophisticated decked-out antique stores' we will never achieve 'an independent artistic expression for our present day circumstances of life, a modern style'.

Modern art must create motifs, therefore, that rest upon 'the phenomena of the day':

> Indeed art must be a mirror image of life, and this is all the more true of the applied arts that stand in an innermost relationship to everyday life .... As long as the chairs on which we sit do not fit in with our clothes, as long as our books do not stand in bookcases whose artistic appearance equally accords with the basic impulse of our intellectual life, ... as long as the artistic adornment of our modern conditions of life do not accord with the needs, the conditions, the whole intellectual atmosphere of our life, then just so long will we not have any style of our times, but instead only individual "stylish" pieces.[95]

I.56
Makart
Interior
c. 1880

Streiter maintains that those who argue that our modern clothing is unattractive and lacking in artistic appeal should look to modern trends in female fashion in England with their greater simplicity or in men's fashions and 'the modern English sports costume' (I.57). Indeed the dramatic increase in imports of English and American furniture, carpets, textiles and clothing can be traced back not to their having become fashionable but rather to 'the collective effect of factors that have a general, international validity, that are directed towards an independent artistic formation of our modern life circumstances'.[96] Furthermore, in those countries the economic factors shaping our modern life - 'industry, world traffic, all the products of modern technology in the service of trade and commerce' - have been most fully developed. The concern for practicalities - Streiter cites the English shoe with broad lower heels, the English washbasin and the lavatory - is a concern for 'the useful, objective, comfortable, hygienic', all of which are appropriate for our modern life. Our modern interiors should reflect these and other requirements of modern life. The need for 'greater lightness and mobility' is justified since 'we modern human beings, as a result of the massively expanded transport systems, are much more mobile than were the majority of people in previous centuries'.[97]

It is in this context that Streiter seeks to clarify the contemporary situation in the applied arts. For him, as for Semper and Wölfflin - both of whom are cited by Streiter - the change in architectural styles is prefigured in the applied arts, and architecture should not isolate itself from modern developments in the latter. Streiter - like Wagner - calls for a shift in the parameters of the contemporary conflict in the arts:

> Slogans such as "the old ones", "the modernists", "Renaissance or Baroque?", "English or Gothic?" should switch to higher standpoints, such as the questions: corresponding to ends or not corresponding to ends? Appropriate to the material or inappropriate to the material? Genuine or untrue? Artistic or not artistic? In accord with the times or not in accord with the

Nr. 1 WIEN 1903 Preis 20 h

I.57

DAS ANDERE

EIN BLATT ZUR EINFUEHRUNG ABENDLAENDISCHER KULTUR IN OESTERREICH: GESCHRIEBEN VON ADOLF LOOS 1. JAHR

TAILORS AND OUTFITTERS
GOLDMAN & SALATSCH

K. U. K. HOF-LIEFERANTEN
K. BAYER. HOF-LIEFERANTEN

KAMMER-LIEFERANTEN
Sr. k. u. k. Hoheit des Herrn Erzherzog Josef etc. etc.

WIEN, I. GRABEN 20.

HALM & GOLDMANN
ANTIQUARIATS-BUCHHANDLUNG
für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur
WIEN, I. BABENBERGERSTRASSE 5

Großes Lager von wertvollen Werken aus allen Wissenschaften.

Einrichtung von belletristischen und Volksbibliotheken.

Ankauf von ganzen Bibliotheken und einzelnen Werken aus allen Zweigen des Wissens.

Übernahme von Bücher- und Autographenauktionen unter kulantesten Bedingungen.

COXIN das neue Mittel zur Entwicklung photographischer Platten, Rollfilms
ohne DUNKELKAMMER
bei Tages- oder künstlichem Licht ist in allen einschlägigen Geschäften zu haben.

COXIN ist kein gefärbter Entwickler. — COXIN erfordert keinerlei neue Apparate und kann immer benutzt werden.

COXIN-EXPORTGESELLSCHAFT
Wien, VII/2, Breitegasse 3.

Title page of Loos's short-lived journal for the introducing western culture to Austria (1903)

> times? ... The juxtaposition of the most diverse styles, that we now see around us, is a natural consequence of the cultural conditions of our times ... What we can and should do is this: to place at the forefront a regard for the particular conditions of life, the spatial location, the materials and the technology, the utility and genuineness.[98]

We should also preserve ourselves from 'the "modern" insofar as it is unartistic!'

When this assessment of the contemporary situation is applied to architecture, it reveals Streiter's opposition to the 'architectural lies' in his own city of Munich, and especially 'the odious buildings in the Maximilianstrasse' whose 'new style' was 'nothing but a totally superficial humble of pseudo monumental phrases'.[99] In contrast, the current modern style in architecture is often referred to as Naturalism, although, as Streiter points out, 'architecture is not an art form that imitates nature'. The more appropriate term is Realism (Wagner's term too):

> Realism in architecture is the most comprehensive acknowledgement of the real emergent preconditions of a building, most complete as possible fulfilment of the demands of usefulness, comfort, requirements of health, in a word: objectivity [Sachlichkeit]. But this is not all. Just as Realism in fiction takes to be one of its main tasks to keep sharply in view the context of characters within their milieu, so the corresponding direction in architecture sees one goal above all to be striven for, namely to develop the character of a building not only out of its defined function [Zweckbestimmung] but rather also out of the milieu, out of the uniqueness of the particular building material available, out of the atmosphere of spatial location that is conditioned by landscape and history.[100]

The previous 'orgies of forms and colours' have now been replaced by 'the longing for simplicity, plainness, even severity. The over-excited stomach lusted for black bread'.[101]

Streiter's extensive coverage of the issues raised by Wagner's Moderne Architektur and his location of these issues in the context of recent and contemporary architectural and aesthetic discussion is critical but ultimately sympathetic to Wagner's notion of

architectural realism. A close reading of Streiter's critique (which neither Schachel[102] nor Kolb[103] take up in their critical reception of Wagner's book) reveals his sympathy with Wagner's goal, whilst being highly critical of the foundations of Wagner's programme - 'an extremely progressive programme', aimed at shifting the present day predominant view of architecture', and presented in a manifesto that 'took his colleagues by surprise'. The form of his manifesto 'recalls that of an extreme political progressive party' and was therefore likely to generate a hostile response. What Streiter does not mention in this context is the fact that, whatever Wagner's own political beliefs, his manifesto was published in the political context of the victories of the Christian Socialist Party in Vienna in 1895 and 1896 ending thirty years of Liberal rule in the city.[104] To some of his contemporaries, Wagner's text may well have read like a political tract in the field of architecture.

Be that as it may, the impact of Streiter's extensive contextualisation of Wagner's text is to indicate that many of its central theses were not merely formulated in the architectural discussion of recent and not so recent decades but were often presented in a more theoretically consequential manner than by Wagner himself. Thus, Wagner's theses on style are located in the context of the debate under way since at least the 1840's in Germany on present day style (many of whose contributions have already been examined earlier) in order to demonstrate that the critique of Historicism was already articulated before Wagner's manifesto. Aside from earlier lamentations that 'we have no monumental style of our own' (Göller),[105] Streiter explores the implications of the Historicist 'labyrinths of viewpoints' (Wagner). Not merely for artists but also for the public 'the sequence and juxtaposition of styles must have something permanently disturbing, confusing, torn out of every enclosed mood'. Indeed, contemporaries such as Karl Neumann have maintained, with reference to the diverse languages of Historicism, that 'it cannot be the last word to express our thought in a foreign, past and, as it were, dead language. In artistic life it

would be as in a museum, where the compartments for all periods of art history and for all schools are arranged in a row one after the other'.[106] However, against arguments by Wagner, Newmann and others that this plurality of languages makes the public's understanding of architecture more difficult, Streiter counters that 'techtonic art forms, unlike spoken language, are grouped not by intellectual understanding but by immediate feelings. Their enjoyment thus requires no special training'.[107] Nonetheless, the recent rapid change in the fashion for styles has destroyed the public's trust in its own judgments of taste. Wagner is therefore correct in not blaming the public for the public's lack of participation in modern architecture. This lack of an acquired feeling for style is most evident in the applied arts as a result of 'the transformation of the relations of production (machine-based industry)' and 'the absence of a unified sense of style', an absence felt most in the erection and decoration of monumental structures.

Several features of modern society have contributed to stylistic disorientation and a 'disrupted present' (Hübsch). Walter Crane and others have condemned the 'express train speed' with which 'hyper industry' operates to produce ever-changing 'currents in fashion that do not correspond to the wishes and needs of public but rather to the market speculations of the manufacturers, whose machines cannot be allowed to stand still'.[108] In turn, this rapid sequence of stylistic fashion in the applied arts and decoration consequent upon these changes in the mode of production, has been accompanied by a situation in which

> the multi-language usage and colourful anarchy in architecture has not merely been asserted but also towards the end of the century has been accelerated. With the progress of art historical research and the dissemination of its results, which were achieved by the extraordinary increase in means of transport and - through photography - the huge mass and ready availability of undeniably accurate reproductions of artistic achievements of all times and countries, there developed from one day to the next the wealth of impressions, from which the modern architect could not escape.[109]

This was the context in which the demands for genuine reproduction of earlier styles can be understood.

In more recent years, however, with the emphasis upon clear practicalities and 'the restructuring of modern conditions of life banishing all poetry from it', a reaction set in signalling 'the turn away from theatrically arranged history, from the costumed pose'. This reaction was generated by the increasing role of science, the domination of 'the social question' and a concern with 'the real life conditions of human beings'. This interest in truth, the nature of things and their 'pure nature' focused upon 'modern human beings, modern life'.

This was the foundation for a new 'architechtonic Realism' in which 'the goal of "modernism" was to gain from modern life its own distinctive artistic dimensions and to represent it with new, more refined means that totally corresponded to its material'.[110] This new movement, randomly termed Naturalism and Realism, is also called Verism in Italy, a concept which Streiter argues can most accurately be transferred to describe architectural Realism. The latter's most vocal though contradictory programme is proclaimed by Wagner with his striving for truth in art - 'the slogan of Realism, of Verism, the so often heard battle cry of "modernism" in the past 25 years has now also in architecture fired a young generation to new liberating deeds!'[111]

Yet those who were opposed to Wagner's Realist programme saw in more recent developments another artistic movement towards neo Idealism, symbolism and the like as a possible counter to Wagner's position. Streiter, however, maintains that although such free fantasies might be possible in literature and fine arts, the architect's works are

> not enjoyed in solitary isolation, in peaceful hours as are a painting or a book, but rather in the bustle and din of everyday life that flows around them. Architectural works form the artistic frameworks for the total image of the life of both the individual

> and the masses. They must correspond to the basic impulse of this image. Yet, undoubtedly a strong realistic current passes through our public and private life ... [Hence] a reawakened artistic romanticism ... cannot be the characteristic mode of expression of our total external forms of life.[112]

Our modern everyday life is increasingly influenced by modern technologies dominated by the principle of 'the greatest possible achievement with the least possible means'. Analysing this dimension of practical life much more fully than Wagner, Streiter draws attention to the effect of this new technology upon our senses:

> If, through the continuous viewing and usage of these products, our eyes and our sense of touch have now increasingly grown accustomed to structural-technical objectivity and correspondingly influenced our techtonic sense of form, then through the extraordinary increase in the means of transport, our body sense has become very receptive to a greater capacity for movement and as a result made it very sensitive to all restricting and burdening ballast. This psychological fact, namely the influence of our whole circumstances of life - totally transformed by modern technology-upon our bodily sense, thereby also our static sense and our sense of form as a whole - this fact alone can offer the key to knowledge of the specifically modern mode of interpretation of techtonic tasks.[113]

Thus, the ideal of beauty in modernity must contain 'realistic features' if it is to correspond to the changes in modern society, everyday life and our sensory responses to such changes. Taken in association with Wagner's reflections on the modern eye, Streiter's more perceptive remarks here could form the basis for a phenomenology of changing perception and relation to things in the late nineteenth century. They also anticipate Futurist reflections on the city and its modern dynamic a decade later.

Wagner's support for the social-practical, levelling ("democratic") tendency of modern life' - which presumably include the new technologies of transportation and machine production - may be understood in the context of the less advanced social and economic development in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in Vienna too.[114] Streiter does

not make this argument but, insofar as he suggests that the British modern movement has gone much further in realising Wagner's ideals, it is certainly implicit in Streiter's references to the more backward situation in Germany and his rejection of the popular 'old German stylish fashion' and 'the predominance of "parvenue taste" .. in Germany'.[115]

Instead, Streiter maintains that it is 'an indisputable service of the supporter of architectural Realism' to have countered the taste of the 'philistine petit-bourgeoisie [philiströsen Spiessbürgertum]', 'the ostentatious plutocracy of dubious origins' and their architecture that is characterised by 'impoverished exhibitionism, false idealism, dissimulated illusion of monumentalism in the wrong place'. Nor is Streiter (in contrast to Henrici, for example) a supporter of a national style. Indeed, Streiter, again more articulately than Wagner, detects signs of the emergence of an international style:

> An astonishing network of iron rails and wires encompasses the globe facilitating the transportation of human beings, the exchange of thoughts and commodities with a really increasing rapidity. The effects of world communication extend even into the most distant, quietest corner of the world. An international trend is passing through modern culture, even though individual peoples come together with an increased self-consciousness and even though the notion of an idealistic world citizenry no long dominates major minds as at the start of this century .... A more sophisticated and deeper Realism, a symbolism of objectivity increasingly liberating itself from an inherited schematism, will probably spread through the future development of the applied arts and the art industry and then also through architecture as an international fundamental feature.[116]

Streiter here unwittingly highlights one of the contradictory tendencies within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, namely the tendency towards internationalism both within the Empire itself with respect to some of its artistic avant gardes and outwith the Empire and, on the other hand, an emergent nationalist tendency within many parts of the Empire and the development of national arts. Thus, an international language of forms co-existed, occasionally converged and often can into conflict with a national language of forms.

Streiter assumes that the accelerating material and social transformations will lead to the emergence of an international style. But since he makes no specific reference to the situation within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he fails to recognize the extent to which economic development, although accelerating, was extremely uneven within the Empire and lagging behind other economies in western Europe. Like Wagner, Streiter avoids a social analysis of the resistance to modernising developments in a society with an extremely powerful landed society and aristocratic culture.[117]

The possible bases for the emergence of a new style are reviewed by Streiter. A totally subjective experimentation is rejected as a foundation for a new style, as is the assimilation of the plurality of historical styles, and the possible for an agreement on a single historical style. A fourth alternative would be connection with no historical style, whilst a fifth possibility (which Streiter had outlined earlier in his article on English and American applied arts) would be a Realism tempered by its milieu. With some qualifications, this is close to Wagner's own position, although Streiter cautions Wagner that 'no modern art or modern style is still not gained with Realism, with objectivity, but rather only a healthy, natural foundation for it'.[118]

The practical foundation of a new style raises the contentious issue of the relationship between construction and art form. Streiter formulates the question as follows: 'How can the formal expression of a constructive function be aesthetically valuable - "beautiful" - for the observer, where everywhere uncertainty and discord predominate?'[119] Wagner's emphasis upon the priority of construction is significant but, argues Streiter, erroneous 'when he wishes to declare that construction is the primal cell of architecture [Baukunst]; for one can indeed characterize construction as the primal cell of building [Bauen] but not, without qualification, of artistic building as well, that is, architecture'.[120] In this context, technology 'can never create a style' of its own. Although Wagner refers to

iron as a new building material, although its significance was long recognized by Semper and others and even though there are many instances of major iron structures (including Vienna's Exhibition Rotunda of 1873), Streiter maintains that

> Iron constructions can and must influence future modes of building but not to the extent that, through their visible emergence "a new realm of art forms" is opened up, but rather that they raise the possibilities for spatial formation and thereby indirectly influence the sense of structure and form.[121]

The influence of new materials and technology should have been evident and should have revealed the 'new style' at the Chicago Columbia World Exhibition of 1893, but instead it was full of Historicist structures. This indicates that the 'new style' cannot emerge merely out of new materials and technology. Rather, Streiter contends, it is more likely to emerge out of the sphere of the applied arts where 'despite the strong dependency upon the practical demands of daily life, a new sense of forms and colours can develop most freely and easily'[122] - a view Streiter finds supported by Semper and Wölfflin.

Streiter's final detailed analysis of Wagner's volume is of the connection between the spirit of the times and architecture and, in particular, Wagner's assertion that 'the new style must be the true, unmistakable expression of the "spirit of the times". Wagner finds that spirit in the modern metropolis'.[123] For Streiter, Wagner's conception of the modern city accords with that of present day Paris and its grand avenues. Streiter is concerned that Paris not be elevated to the 'general norm' of a modern city and that grand avenues, these 'long, broad avenues without human and traffic bustle are a contradiction in themselves; they necessarily create the impression of megalomania and yawning boredom'.[124]

On the other hand, Streiter is more sympathetic to Wagner's and others critique of Historicism and the seemingly endless reverence towards the past which fails to ask 'the question as to how far the historical sense of our times, and historical reverence in

particular, stands as an impediment in the way of the development of an independent modern mode of building'.[125] Such reverence has produced a 'cool resignation' towards, and tolerance of, all historical styles, whilst at the same time 'shying away from investigating in a critical manner which language of forms could bring to the living sensibilities of modern people the greatest capacity for expression'.[126]

Unlike Wagner, Streiter explores more deeply the problematic of Historicism, and in particular since mid-century its confrontation with the natural sciences. Indeed, there has been 'an open struggle between the powerful, aspiring natural sciences and the historical sciences', in which the application of the results of natural scientific development appeared to have created a 'new world .. separated by an unbridgable gulf from the past'. Streiter outlines its contradictory contours as follows:

> Theoretically, through the Darwinian principle of evolution there occurred a significant rapprochement between the historical and natural scientific world views. Practically, the sharp division of then and now in all social conditions of life was frequently experienced as a painful split. The new circumstances came too quickly, too directly; dangerous shifts in forces caused deep shocks to the balance of economic forces. A powerful pressure and haste, an agitating unbalance made itself felt everywhere; the interpretation of life as a struggle for existence, as the war of all against all, emerged more sharply than before; a strong materialistic current made itself felt both in practical life and in the intellectual sphere. The "fourth estate", social democracy, combined into a new force threatening the overthrow of all that existed and confronting an industrialism and capitalism that recklessly followed its own interests'.[127]

Out of this apparent 'confusing chaos' of modernity much that was valuable was created in the intellectual and artistic spheres. But, at the same time, there were those who 'looked back with envious nostalgia at the "good old days" brought closer through historical research ... [who] sought in fact to retain the old with growing reverence to cherish and defend it against the assault of the new'.[128] Of decisive significance in 'the assault of the new' Streiter highlights again the fundamental transformation in dwelling

conditions and transport facilities: 'Only think of how slowly in earlier times the physiognomy of cities changed, almost unnoticed in a human lifetime, and in contrast how rapidly, how noticeably it has changed in this century!'[129] Hence, the reverence for the past is not only intelligible, it may also be a necessity. In this context, Streiter questions whether Wagner has seriously considered the implications of his recognition of a reverence for the past in modernity. In this respect - not mentioned by Streiter - Ohmann's project of a 'historical-modern' style would be worthy of greater recognition.

Wagner's concept of the modern, however, is associated with a democratic, levelling tendency - a significant feature which he fails to develop in any detail. Streiter maintains that alongside this tendency today there exists an opposing 'strong aristocratic-individualistic counter current', typified by Stirner, Nietzsche, Ibsen and others that is equally conducive to artistic development. More importantly, Streiter seeks to clarify the nature of the putative democratic tendency by contrasting Walter Crane's views - the 'most modern' of the 'new English Renaissance' - with those of Wagner. Streiter concurs with Crane's designation of contemporary political conditions as not so much democratic as an 'oligarchy of capital'. Crane's 'artistic socialism' and defence of craftwork contrasts with Wagner's recognition of the latter's demise: 'In Wagner's opinion, the architecture and applied arts of the future will move forward to a new life not in the struggle against industrialism and commercialism, as W. Crane believes, but rather in association with these modern great powers'. Crane, too, seeks a modern art reflecting modern conditions but not in a 'metropolitan art, that in the hands of capitalism and industrialism is subordinated to rapidly changing vagaries of fashion' but rather in 'a genuine people's art'[130] opposed to capitalism.

Yet despite Streiter's substantive and theoretical critique of Wagner's position, he too concludes in favour of 'archetechtonic Realism' and asserts that 'Realism [may] have

its deep inner foundation as a counterweight against a false, simulated, uncontemporary Idealism'.[131] If Mallgrave is correct in describing Wagner's Moderne Architektur as the first modern architectural manifesto, then it is somewhat surprising that Streiter's critique constitutes the only major contemporary criticism of that work. All the subsequent contemporary reviews are much less substantial. The responses to the later editions of 1898, 1902 and 1914 are much briefer than to the work's first edition.

Brief mention should be made here of a review by Moritz Dreger (in fact reviewing a work by Charles Buls) on 'The Aesthetics of Cities'[132] which contrasts Sitte's and Wagner's manifestos.

> In terms of form a world separates the two of them. The one is absorbed in the beauties of old cities especially Italian ones ... But the general standpoint is in fact an outmoded one, that of the happily transcended "historical" styles. A city constructed according to these ideas will contain a wealth of picturesque individual elements, but really only be a conglomerate of small towns; no larger, unified compelling concept lies in it. Four thousand troops still do not constitute a regiment; but four batallions do. If one merely piles one small entity on top of another than this will produce ant hills, but not a well organised centre of world transport.[133]

This alternative Wagnerian conception of the city 'corresponds to the practical standpoints. And if this inner truth is expressed in an overwhelming manner, then it too will be artistically effective'. The new conception of the city must avoid the

> break up and fragmentation of motifs as, for instance, in our Ringstrasse, as well as the "style" of the buildings that almost never allow an autonomous, unified effect to be realised. The buildings forming the main lines must naturally not be ostentatious, with each shouting out loudly for prominence or bore one to death through endless repetition of the same pretentious fake decoration; they must be retained as simply as possible, in order to permit the street and the square as major form to be effective as part of the whole city.[134]

The reader of Wagner's volume will 'at once view his or her own city through totally difference eyes and learn with surprise that much more is still to be done but also can be done; he or she will not be pessimistic'.

A brief anonymous announcement of the second edition (1898) of Wagner's manifesto[135] - 'one of the most instructive guides for school and family' - concludes with a cautionary note on the very success of the modern movement: '"Not everything that is modern is beautiful", says Wagner, "and this should encourage our endeavour to ensure that only the truly beautiful can be modern". The fact that "modernism" is as little safe from imitators as were hitherto the masters of tradition, is something we can see hourly. God preserve the "moderns" from these friends, for they will know how to preserve themselves from their enemies'.

A fuller, if totally uncritical, review of the second edition by Hermann Bahr[136] suggests that Wagner has created 'a revolution' in our notion of architecture:

> For a couple of years now we don't wish to know anything more about the old architecture. Yesterday's fashion doesn't suit any more; those palaces, that are like decorations out of the Renaissance or out of the Baroque don't have their effect any more. We want to live in our manner, according to our needs, just as we dress ourselves in our manner, according to our needs. We don't want any costumes any more, therefore our houses too shouldn't have them any more. If we go along the Ring then it looks to us like a very cheap carnival. Everything is masked everything is disguised, everything is wearing masks. Yet really life has become too serious for such things. We want to look life in its face. This is expressed with the catchword a "realistic architecture". What is meant by this is that the building serves its purpose and that this should be expressed openly and not at all hidden .... To hide it beneath alien forms seems to us to be foolish and ugly. In the past it was required of a building above all that it should "look like something". We require that it should be something. We are ashamed as present day working people to live like princes or patricians of yesterday or the day before yesterday. We experience this as a swindle. We should look at a house for what it is, what occupation it has, who lives in it and how they live in it.[137]

In other words, our present day architecture should be modern. Bahr asks 'What does it mean, however: modernity, forms created by ourselves? Which will they be? Forms that coincide with our sensibilities, our appearance, and whole manner - coincide in such a way as those old forms earlier coincided with the whole manner of its people'.[138]

Such an answer to this question reveals what many critics realised, namely that this new modern architecture also sought to endure through time, and in such a manner as did earlier forms. Indeed, Max Eisler, reviewing the fourth edition of the work[139] - by then titled Die Baukunst unserer Zeit - declares that although Wagner's volume had been expanded (with two additional sections on 'Artistic Support' and 'Artistic criticism') its basic theses not only remained the same but 'the work in its core .. deals with .. eternally valid and necessary aspects and therefore it cannot age, in its findings it will have continuous legitimation'. In this manner, the longing for the eternal reveals itself in the desire to represent our transitory 'times'.[140]

This problematical temporal dimension in the claim to represent modern times through architecture is also revealed from a different perspective in Joseph Lux's review of the 1902 third edition.[141] Lux refers there to the two tactics employed in the 'desperate struggle' to denigrate Wagner's achievement (most recently within the debate on the proposed museum on the Karlsplatz). The first is that critics

> seek to contrive a contradiction between Wagner's views from his earlier period and his contemporary views. They deliberately overlook that these presumed contradictions are conditioned by the demands of the time and that to the times development is contradiction. The other, more cunning tactic is that they seek to recognise Wagner merely as a historical phenomenon who has already been extensively overtaken by his famous students. If the effect of this is, on the one hand, curious that they now play off the maligned students as "extreme revolutionaries" against the pioneer so, on the other, they reveal a failure to recognise the specific spheres of creation ... It must ... be emphasized that the monumental, the striving for the great in size and simultaneously for the festive is where Wagner's major significance lies, which one must in no way overlook in evaluating him.[142]

It should be added here that Lux, in his supportive and uncritical review, does not himself recognise the full implications of the relationship of the times to contradictions for Wagner's manifesto. For it is Wagner himself who, in insisting on architecture's (true) representation of modern times, fails to observe that they are contradictory. Modern development as contradiction raises further problems for its representation, not least how to capture these contradictions in artistic forms. The second tactic employed by Wagner's critics refers to his relationship to his students. Having examined extensively the critics' response to Wagner's manifesto, the broader issue of the nature of his teaching programme and student response will be briefly investigated.

IV

When he succeeded to Hasenauer's chair of architecture in 1894, Wagner immediately introduced a new three year training programme whose orientation was around practical solutions to specific building problems.[143] The problem for the first year was 'a simple Viennese apartment house' whose intention was to make students 'quite proficient, first and foremost in construction and the understanding of needs'. Then, time permitting, students 'can then proceed to the solution of the "individual dwelling" since our traffic planning will push this question to the fore and we can certainly anticipate a corresponding upheaval in our style of living'. The second year was to focus upon a public building with all its complicated interior planning and characteristic exterior organisation. In the final year, students would be required to solve a problem they might never face, one 'whose design will help to fan the divine spark of imagination'. The three problems faced in the design of the Miethaus, the monumental building, and the fantastic structure were all those which had preoccupied Wagner earlier. The prominence given to the Miethaus, Zinshaus

and Wohn-und Geschäftshaus in the first year of study suggests an affinity with urban capitalist needs. Indeed, the whole issue of building types favoured by the Wagner programme is worthy of fuller treatment later.

For the moment, it should be emphasized that this programme was a significant departure from earlier learning requirements. The stress placed upon modern urban needs was amplified by Wagner's insistence that the then ubiquitous year in Italy be curtailed in favour of 'the great cities and those places where modern luxury may be found'. The contrast with the previous teaching programme is related by Josef Hoffmann, who began study at the Academy of Fine Arts in October 1892 under Hasenauer, and whose programme comprised design of a country residence in the first year, a city residence in the second and a public building in the third. However, the mode of teaching was itself different. As Hoffmann relates,

> Work was carried out in the following manner: every day an assistant discussed the plans with the individual students, and the professor now and then looked at the results .... To arouse any interest, to pose any problems was not their concern ... One studied the projects of one's predecessors and made something similar.[144]

When he transferred to Wagner's programme following Hasenauer's death, Hoffmann relates that 'under Wagner matters really improved. This artist at least knew how to instil enthusiasm into his school ... there was a real life and search for form'.[145]

This enthusiasm is apparent even in those who looked at Wagner's work from a distance. Joseph Urban, for instance, having studied under Hasenauer, regretted not studying under Wagner. Nonetheless, Wagner's 'radical departure from all previous work, his fantastic and interesting plans for monumental and domestic building, museums and churches inspired me to try and get on my own feet to work independently in my own style'.[146] Many gifted students would be asked to work in their teachers' studios. Urban

worked under Ludwig Baumann (the conservative, official architect of the Emperor) who recalled of Urban that

> continuously I had to suppress his simplifications, as the city of Vienna at that time ... demanded the richness of Hasenauer's tradition. [ ] I put up with his fantasies'.[147]

In contrast, some of Wagner's students were able to work subsequently on major projects in his atelier. Hoffmann's vita (21.3.1899) relates that he 'was accepted into the studio of Oberbaurat Wagner and worked there principally on the great Gumpendorfer bridge complex with the granite obelisks, the Lobkowitz Bridge station, and various other stations'.[148] This participation was extended to Olbrich and others.[149] Damjan Prelovsek, drawing on Joze Plecnik's papers, outlines the work situation for those such as Plecnik who worked in Wagner's studio in 1894-95:

> Work in his studio made good progress, because all the workers there were paid by the hour and the conditions were clearly set out. Wagner arrived every morning at 8.00 am from his villa in Hütteldorf and corrected the plans in the atelier until midday. At 1.30 pm he returned from lunch in his town residence and went on working until 5.00 pm. He had eighteen workers, to whom Plecnik was the youngest addition.[150]

Plecnik subsequently completed his architectural study with Wagner.

Returning to the master class, there are other dimensions of the work environment in Wagner's teaching programme that are worthy of note. August Sarnitz draws attention to the discussions of other architects work (to which we have already alluded) and their significance.

> Wagner used to give studio critiques and discussed with his students new book and magazine publications. These discussions were part of the architectural training, since it was here that students were confronted with Wagner's opinions of other architects' work. It must have been during these discussions that Wagner talked about Frank Lloyd Wright. Referring to Wright's work, Wagner told his students, "Gentlemen, this is an architect who is better than I". To fully appreciate this statement ... one

> has to remember that Wagner ... was also a member of the art committee of the cultural and educational department of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which represented the official Kulturpolitik.[151]

The importance of Sarnitz's reference to Wagner's membership of the growing bureaucracy expanded to regulate art lies in the fact that Wagner had access to bureaucratic - political forums through which he could advance his views on modern architecture and training (in a context in which such commissions contained both 'old' and 'modern' representatives).

Although a 'permanent art commission' [ständige Kunstkomission] had been established since 1890, there is evidence that spheres of the local state bureaucracy were expanded considerably after the political transformation in the mid 1890s and the coming to power of the Christian Social Party under Karl Lueger.[152] By the close of the decade, 'the enlargement of the state administration through a central art commission opened up to the bourgeoisie broad possibilities for participation in the state politics of art and culture ... directly into the Ministry'.[153] The art commission in principle supported all possible artistic currents and 'no direction in art should [be] excluded' from any artistic competition - an art politics which some, such as Loos, viewed as too great an intervention of the state in art and the 'defence and appropriation of elite aesthetic codes'. As Gottfried Fliedl has shown, in the context of the School of Applied Arts [Kunstgewerbeschule] in Vienna and the bitter debate on its teaching programme and director in 1899, Wagner could have a significant impact.[154]

In the meetings of the curators of the School of Applied Arts in January and February 1899, Wagner attacked existing plans for both the School and the Modern Gallery of Applied Arts. The rhetoric is that of Moderne Architektur - against the influence of the past, archaeology and science of art, and copies of the past in favour of a 'naissance' of the applied arts. The School should produce that which is 'the beautiful expression for its

"present senses"', since its task is 'through art to raise trade and thereby welfare in the state'.[155] To neglect this

> I must indeed characterise as criminal ... in fact, I go so far as to require that the School ... just as trade so energetically demands, should clearly express itself for modernity [die Moderne] ... Art requires of its practitioners a new birth, a new creation, whose seeds find in modern human life their fruitful ground. If art sinks down to the level of laborious weighing and copying as has hitherto been in large part practised, then it actually ceases to be art.

This rhetoric could also contain, as Fliedl argues, a 'patriarchal arrogance' as when Wagner insists that 'a break must finally be made with the system of allowing [in] every woman [Frauenzimmer] who wishes to paint little flowers on the cups'.[157] Wagner's self consciously rhetorical manner could itself create opposition to his position. In the discussion for a new director, the secretary of curators Max von Millenkovich-Morold, whilst recognizing everyone's right to express their views, laments that

> On the other hand, it really pains my soul when Otto Wagner, the architect preaching revolution [Umsturz], who only admits Klimt to being creative in Vienna, and whose "scathing" judgments of the majority who were treasured and loved were taken up as a rule with amazement and mirth, when this sharp-tongued and pugnacious gentleman in the meetings of the commission is the same one who spends a good hour and gives his blessing to the most pedestrian products of an antiquated art exercise in order that subsequently, with the same pleasure, the others can be pleased to have supported his protégés.[158]

Later in 1899, Hoffmann, Kolo Moser and Alfred Roller - former Wagner students - were, in fact, appointed to the School of Applied Arts Institute.[159]

This partiality and selectivity in Wagner's position may well have had a more ominous dimension in relation to Wagner's Master Class at the Academy of Fine Arts. The major alternative architectural training was offered by the Technical University and Karl König[160] in particular (with whom notably Rudolf Schindler initially studied, but also Josef

Frank, Oskar Strnad, and Oskar Wlach amongst many others). After 1904 at the Academy, students were also drawn to the Master Class of Friedrich Ohmann who had taught in the previous decade in Prague.[161] (I.58,59,60) Little research has been undertaken on the relationship between Wagner and Ohmann (whose own works were described by Feldegg and others as 'historical-modern'), though Ohmann's later statements suggested a degree of hostility to Wagner's particular modernist credo.[162]

In this context, the composition of the various student bodies is worthy of further investigation. The Academy did not admit female students in this period. Hence, all Wagner's students were male. It has been suggested by Christopher Long,[163] for example, that one reason why Josef Frank did not transfer from the Technical University to Wagner's Class - as others such as Schindler did - was 'the anti-Semitic atmosphere of the school'. Long goes on to maintain that

> whilst perhaps as many as one third of the students in the architecture programme of the Technische Hochschule were Jewish - among them Strnad, Wlach and Richard Neutra - apparently only 1 of the 190 students who studied in the Wagnerschule between 1894 and 1914 - Ernst Lichtblau - came from a Jewish background. The two schools were also characterized by a marked difference in approach. Though a strict adherent of late historicism in his own work, König showed a remarkable tolerance for other approaches. By contrast, Wagner, although his own work was at the cutting edge of developments at the time, was much less open to other styles and methods.[164]

In terms of 'atmosphere' in the Wagner School, it is certainly the case that from the mid 1890's after the coming to power of the Christian Socialists in Vienna, Wagner actively sought the support of Karl Lueger (proponent of a decidedly anti-semitic political ideology) for his projects. Wagner's own political position is less easy to detect and would be worthy of further research.

Ohmann: Office Block in Prague (1896)

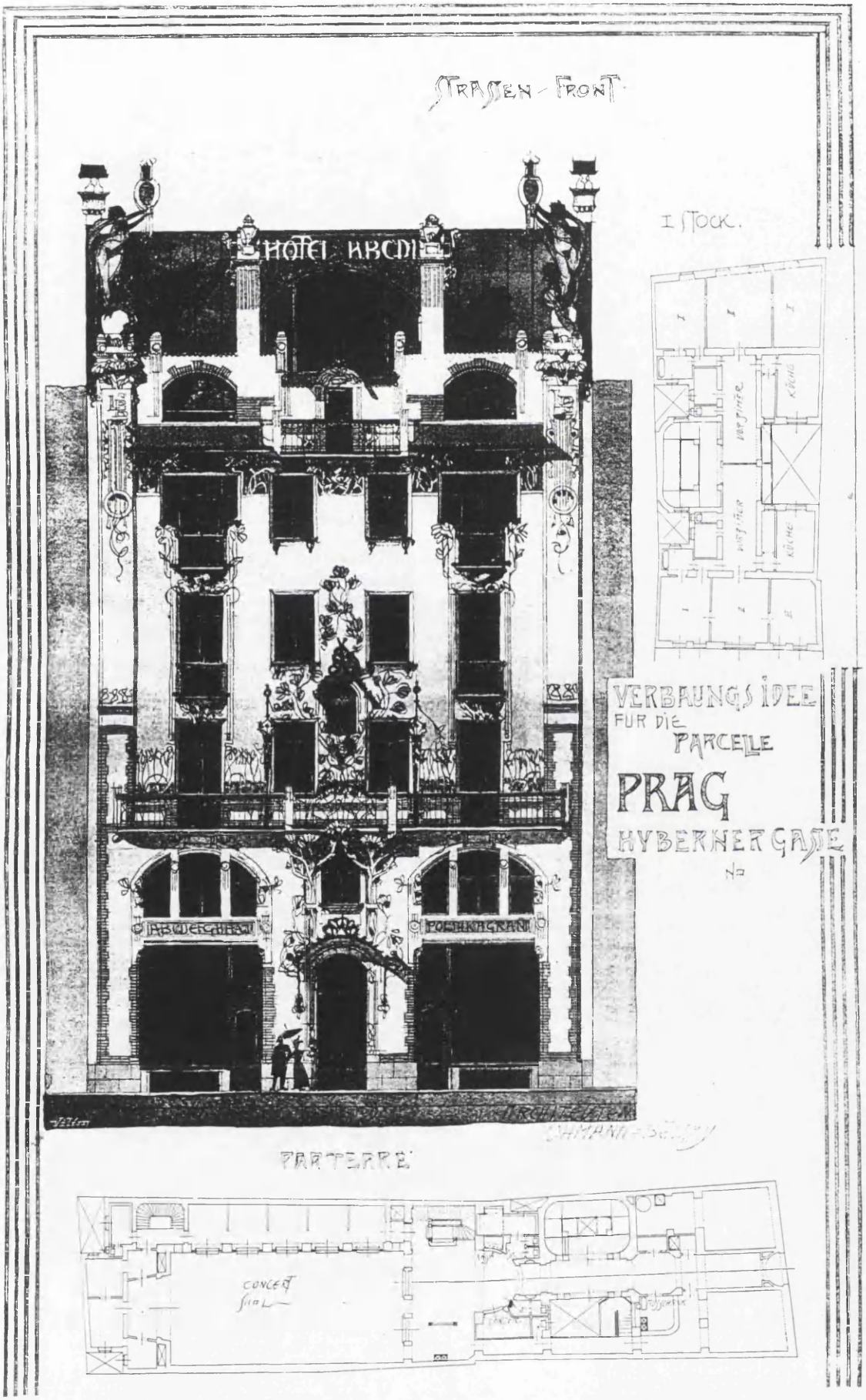
I. 58

Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co. in Wien.

Vom Architekten k. k. Professor Fr. Ohmann.
Project 1896.

Hotel Project: Ohmann and Bělsky (1898)

I. 59

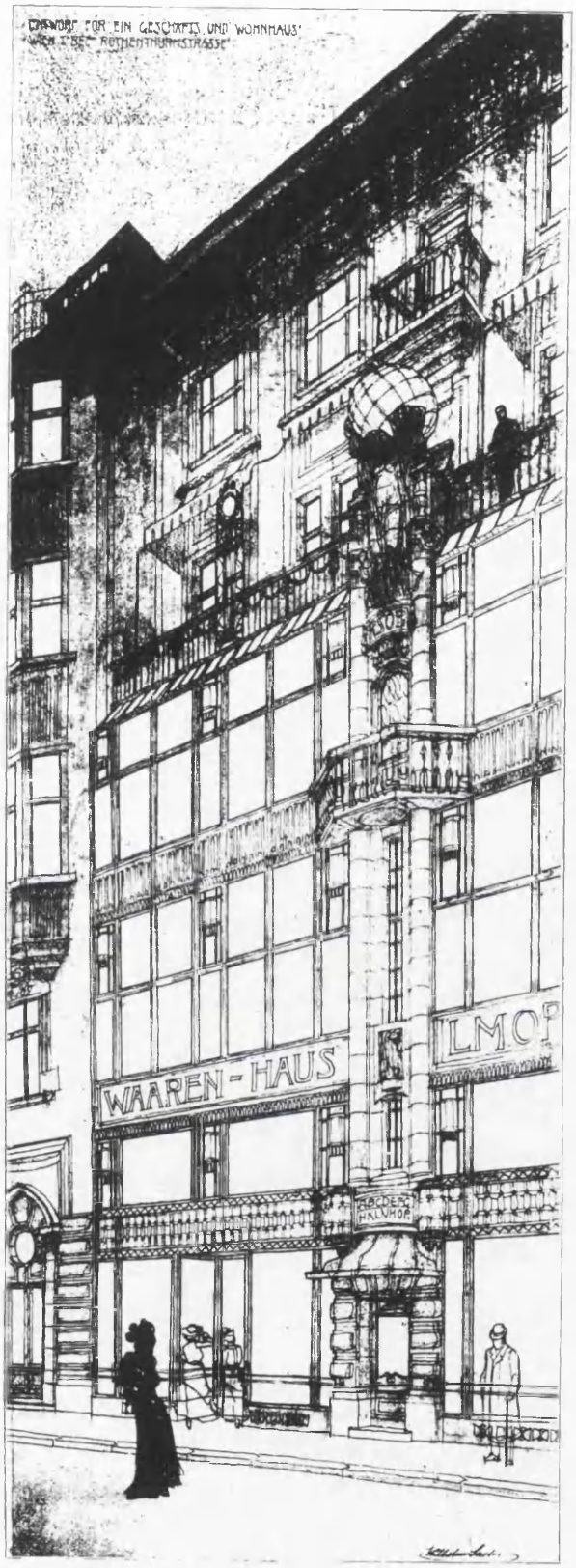


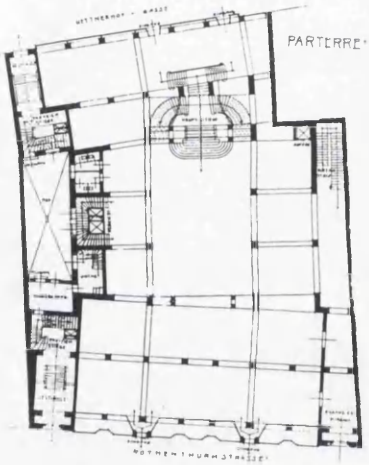
Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co. in Wien.

Project für Prag.
Architekten Ohmann-Bělsky.
1898.

O. Sachs: Wohn- und Geschäftshaus (1907)
(Ohmann School)

I.60





Entwurf für ein Wohn- und Geschäftshaus in Wien, I. Rotenturmstraße.

Von Oskar Sacha (Architekturschule Prof. Fr. Ohmann).

Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

The approach of Wagner's students to their own work and projects has been characterised by Sarnitz - though more true of the later students than the earliest entrants - as:

> 1) geometric reduction of formal elements; and 2) structural elaboration and significance. Looking at the projects of the students, it is evident that geometric reduction is the leading design principle. The use of "pure forms" and formal composition goes beyond a stripped-down classicism, but creates new formal abstractions without any reference to the Beaux-Arts tradition.[165]

The structural articulation required in the ambitious projects (for huge monuments, airports, exhibition buildings etc.) which students undertook in their third year required the use of new technologies (such as concrete). The optimistic expansion of forms in modern architecture fully accorded with 'this modern spirit of permanent progress'[166] - as one of Wagner's students, Kerndle, puts it - which Wagner's conception of the expanding modern metropolis and modern life seemed to justify.

If students were encouraged to develop the fantasies of modern life in their third year of study, then they had already been schooled in the design of public buildings and the 'simple' Viennese rented apartment block.[167] The focus upon specific building types as indicative of modernity and modern needs in the metropolis reveals a distinctive conception of the development of modern urban society.

V

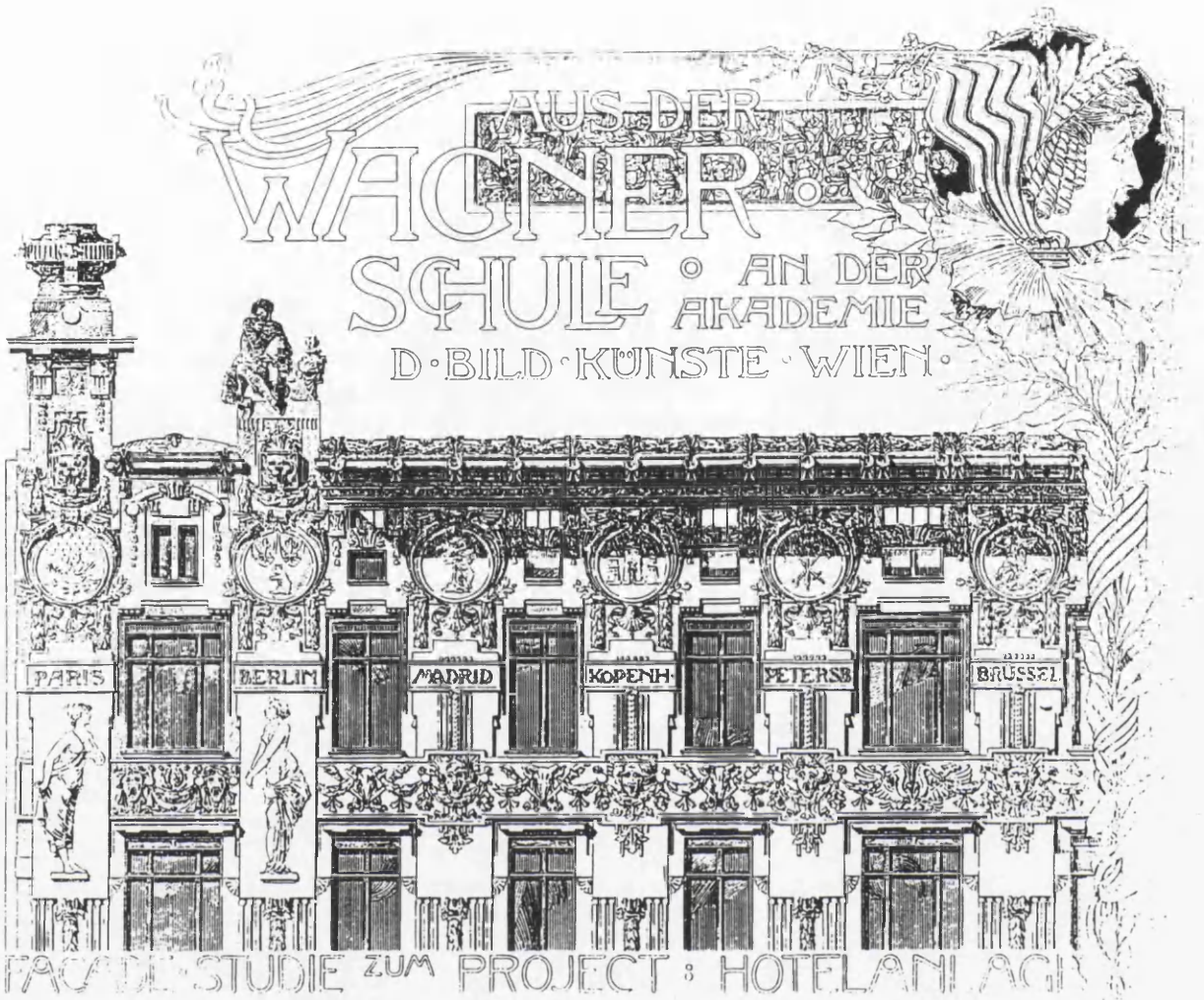
The goal of producing a modern architecture for modern metropolitan life is predicated upon the delineation of features of modern life that must be addressed by modern architects. The architects themselves are required to advertise and sell their expertise in this

respect. One of the ways in which this is done is to make portfolios of completed or projected works available. In order to reach as large an audience as possible access to media is necessary. In the 1890's, one of the most accessible mode of presenting one's work was in architecture journals. The mid 1890's and later saw the emergence of a number of journals ostensibly representing the artistic avant garde such as Ver Sacrum, Der Architekt and Das Interieur. Of these journals, Der Architekt may be taken as an instance of an architecture journal which rapidly gained the reputation (though this was not the editor, Feldegg's original intention) as the leading avant garde journal in Vienna (the much older Allgemeine Bauzeitung, which had earlier carried general articles on style and modern aesthetics, came increasingly to concentrate upon technical aspects). The journal carried supplements from the Wagner School, and later, on occasion, Ohmann's School and others.

A survey of the full page illustrations appended to each issue of Der Architekt in the period 1895 to 1914 (and excluding the Wagner Schule supplements) (I.61) provides some indications of general tendencies in representation of 'modern' architectural works projected or realised throughout the Empire (though the majority were probably produced by architects in Vienna).[168] When broken down into building types, the largest numerical category is that of Miethaus, Zinshaus and Wohn-und Geschäftshaus, i.e. rented apartment block and apartment and commercial block. (I.62,63,64) This is the key building type produced not merely within the Wagner School but also more generally (a type which, as Miethaus, had already been extensively built in Vienna since at least the 1860's). Another significant building type is the villa (I.65,66,67), both in its urban form and as a country residence [Landhaus]. Here it should be noted that the Empire, despite its localised industrial capitalist developments, still had a huge rural economy. As in other societies in the same period, the haute bourgeoisie, who may have secured their capital in an urban milieu, sought to emulate landed society through the purchase of a rural residence. The

A. Ludwig: 'Aus der Wagner Schule'

I 61



Vom Architekten Alois Ludwig.

Die Stetigkeit der Entwicklung ist das Kennzeichen aller Cultur.

Ein neuer Geist durchzieht die Lande. Aber jede Neuerung muss erst das Beharrungsvermögen vorhandener Anschauungen überwinden, muss den naturgemäßen Widerstand des Conservativgewordenen niederkämpfen, ehe sie sich Bahn bricht und der neuen Epoche ihren Stempel aufdrückt.

Wer die letzten Jahrzehnte unserer Kunst und insbesonders unserer Architekturentwicklung mit unbefangenem Auge überblickt, der wird manchen Neuerungsversuch, viel glänzende Talente und viele Schulen sehen, aber auch die lange Reihe von Misserfolgen wahrnehmen, die sich an diese Schulen knüpften; er wird wahrnehmen können, dass fast überall nach prächtigem Anlaufe ein Klebenbleiben am Formenschema des Lehrers, ein Verknöchern in decorativer Symbolik, ein Entfremden und Entfernen vom natürlichen Boden der Kunst eintrat. Das war leider auch das Endergebnis der meisten Wiener Schulen.

Es fehlte die wahrheitsuchende Führung, die unbeirrt auf ihr Ziel lossteuert.

Wie ganz anders tritt die Wagner-Schule in den Kampf mit dem Hergebrachten!

Hier gilt als erstes Postulat die constructive Wahrheit. Der Geist, der in dieser Schule herrscht, weist immer auf den reellen Nährboden der Architektur, auf das Leben hin; er ist die höchste Bürgschaft für ihre Fortdauer.

Er muss sich Bahn brechen.

Die Ergebnisse eines zweiten Jahres der Wagner-Schule liegen vor. Es ist nicht leicht, aus zufälligen Schülerentwürfen sogleich Bedeutung und Tendenz einer Schule zu ermessen. Aber das eine wird doch jedermann sofort erkennen, dass hier eine bewusste, bestimmte Directive vorhanden ist.

Über die Absichten und Ziele des Meisters ist bereits gesprochen worden. Diese Zeilen können umso kürzer gefasst sein, als, wie man versichert, die Publication einer Schrift bevorsteht, in welcher Prof. O. Wagner seine Ansichten über moderne Architektur — wohl in erschöpfender Weise — selbst darlegen wird.

Die ungewöhnlichen Erwartungen, welche das erste Jahr der Wagner-Schule hervorgerufen hat, sind vollauf gerechtfertigt worden.

Das Programm ist das gleiche geblieben.

Eine praktische Studie des modernen Wiener Zinshauses im ersten Jahre, eine an ebenso reelle Bedingungen geknüpfte monumentalere Aufgabe im zweiten Jahre, ein auf Schulung der Phantasie gerichtetes, alles umfassendes Kolossalproject im dritten Jahrgange.

Die Arbeiten beweisen wieder, dass hier keine Schablone im Entstehen begriffen, kein Stil ausgesprochen bevorzugt, kein Verknöchern möglich ist. Die unbekümmert um traditionelle Form freie, sachliche Auffassung der Aufgaben ist und bleibt die Hauptcharakteristik der Schule. Dass ab und zu die Intentionen des Meisters nicht ganz erfasst werden, will nichts sagen.

Sehr bezeichnend sind die Kirchenprojecte.

Die erschöpfende Berücksichtigung aller Utilitätsmomente gibt schon der Kirche ihren ausgesprochenen Charakter. Wo sie am Platz ist, steigert jedoch sicher eine herangezogene symbolische Form den Ausdruck.

Es unterliegt ja keinem Zweifel, dass neben der realistisch-constructiven auch die traditionell-symbolische Form berechtigt ist.

Aber verfehlt und unfruchtbar ist es, den gesammten architektonischen Aufbau — wie es bisher geschehen ist — aus symbolischen Formen zusammenzusetzen, die meist unverständlich, oft unwahr sind und aus fremden Epochen herübergenommen wurden, statt vom praktischen Aufbau des betreffenden Objectes auszugehen und, auf der constructiven Wahrheit fußend, mit veristischen Neubildungen und nur, wo durchaus nothwendig, mit hergebrachten Formen auszusprechen, was heute unser modernes Herz empfindet und bewegt.

Das ist der Geist und das Kriterium dieser neuen Architekturphase, die eine stetige Entwicklung mit weitestem Gesichtsfelde vorbereitet. Hierin liegt der Gegensatz zu allen anderen Schulen, das große Verdienst und die Zukunft der Wagner-Schule.

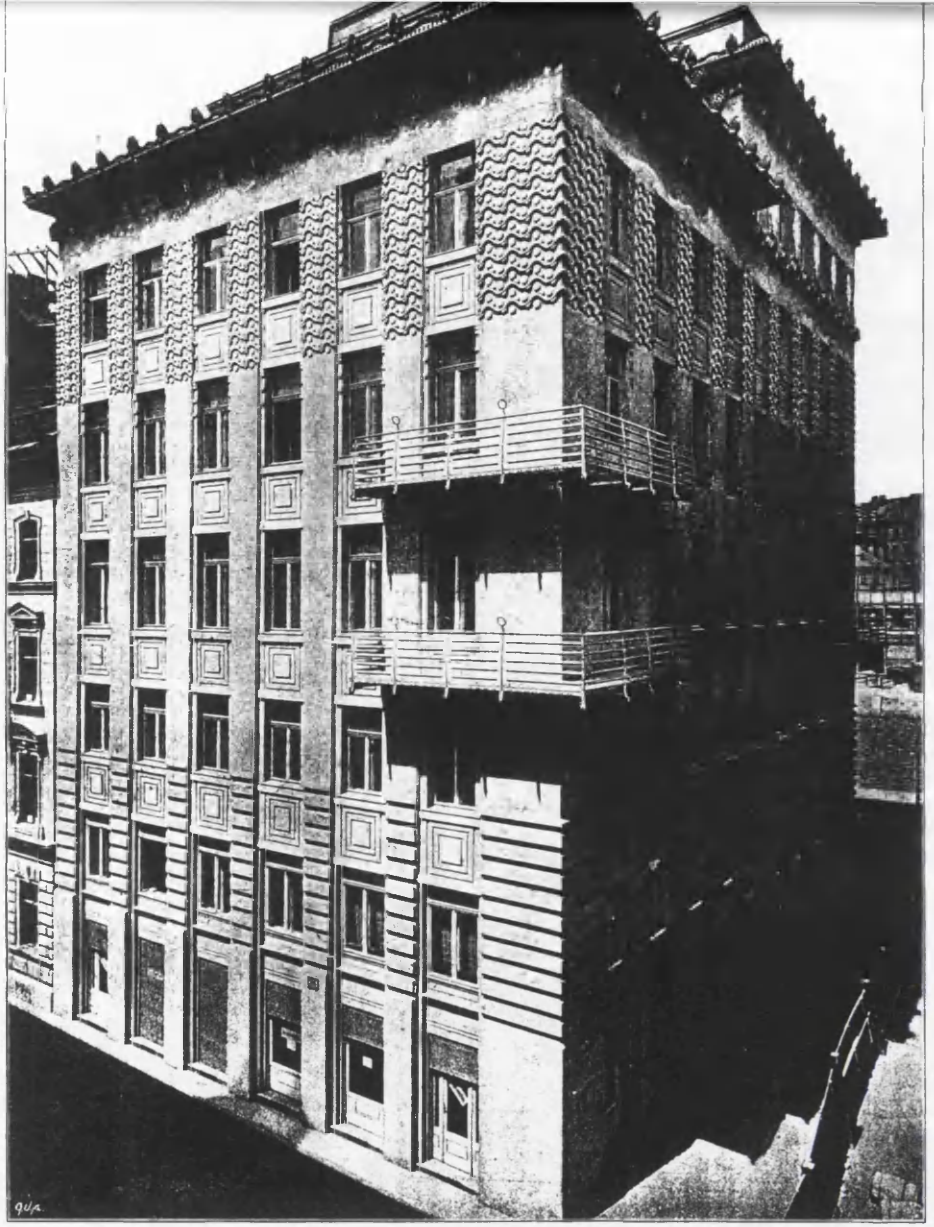
M. E.

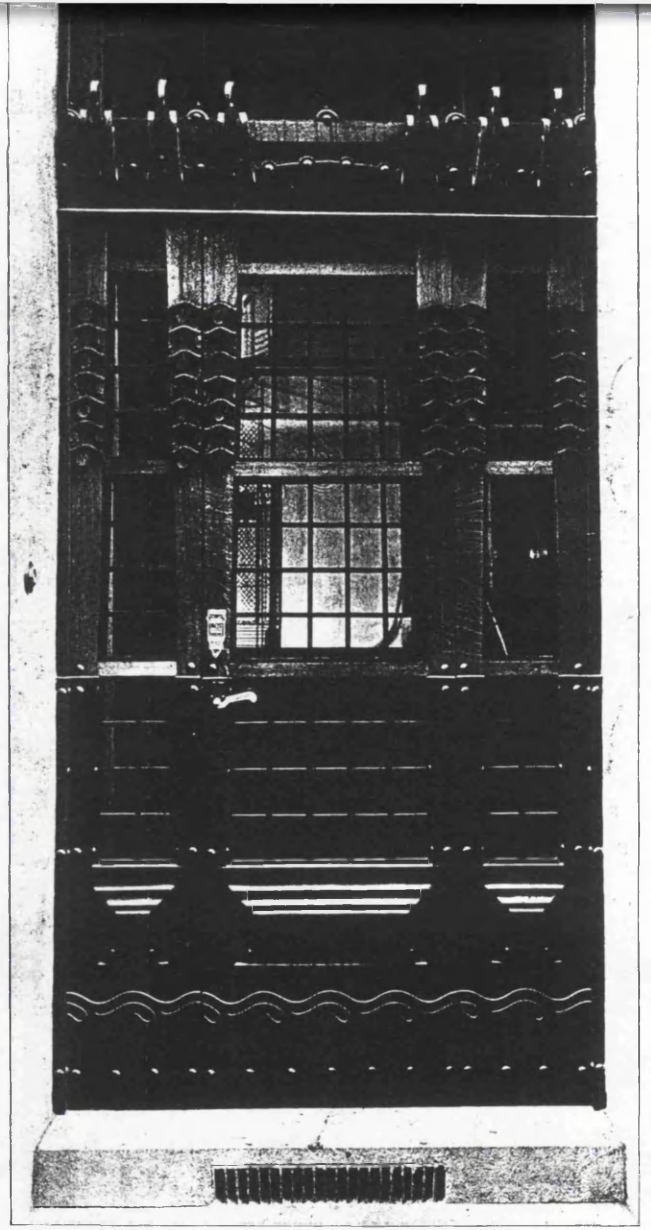
O. Marmorek: Wohnhaus (1905) I.62.

Wohnhaus in Wien, VI. Windmühlgasse.

Vom Architekten Oskar Marmorek.

Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.





Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

Zinshaus, Wien, VI. Wienstraße 24.
Vom Architekten Josef Plečnik.

J. Plečnik: Zinshaus I.63

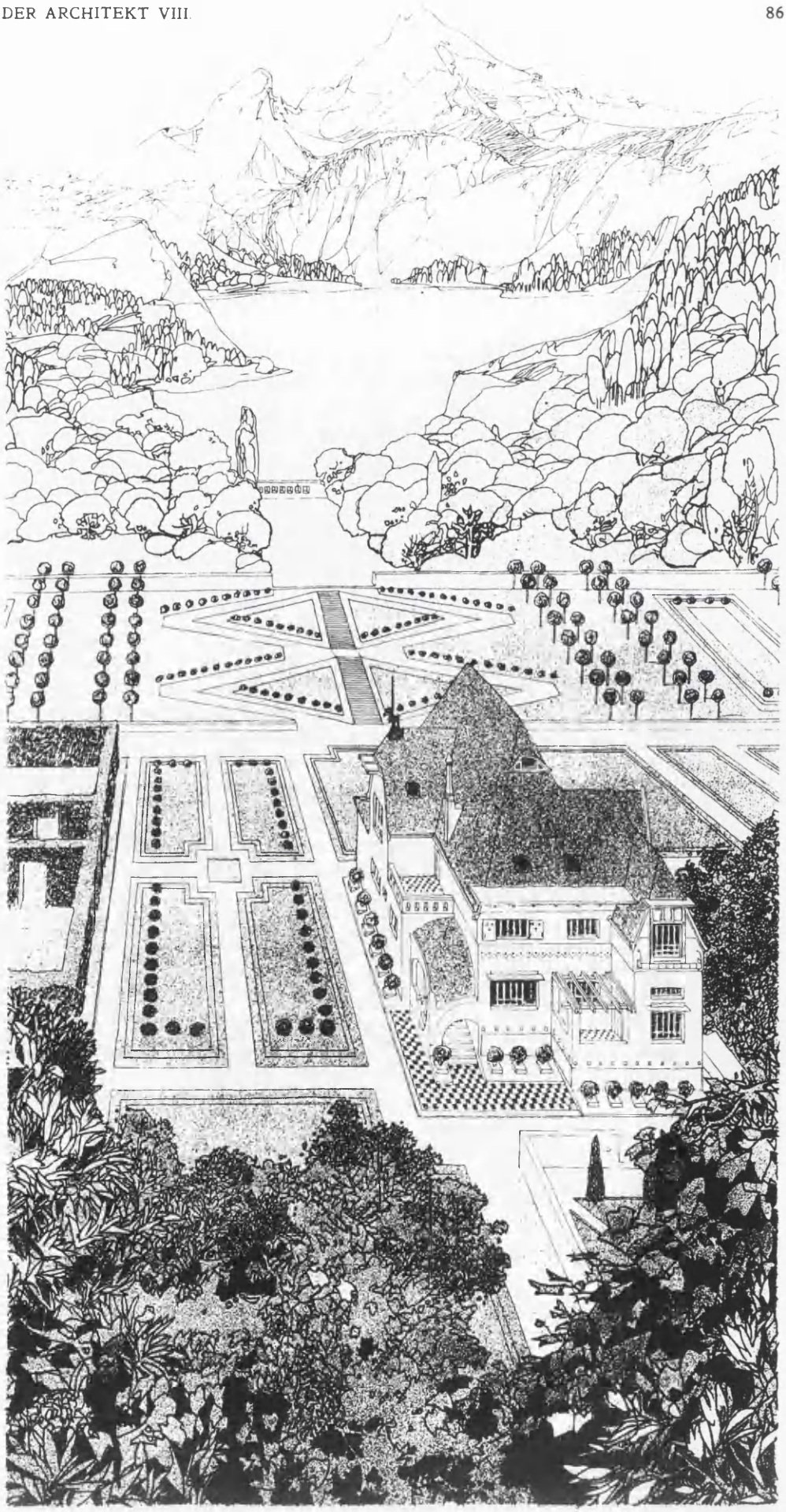
Kéler: Wohn- und Geschäftshaus (1902)

6 Karl von Kéler: Entwurf für ein Wohn- und Geschäftshaus in Wien, 1902

I.65

K. Benirschke: Villa (1902)

End 1902



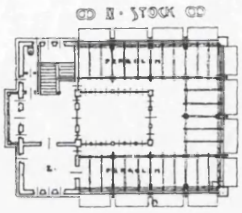
Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

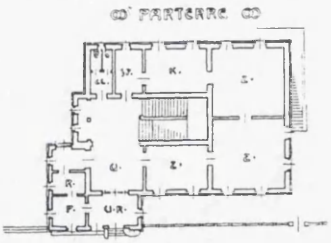
Villa am See.

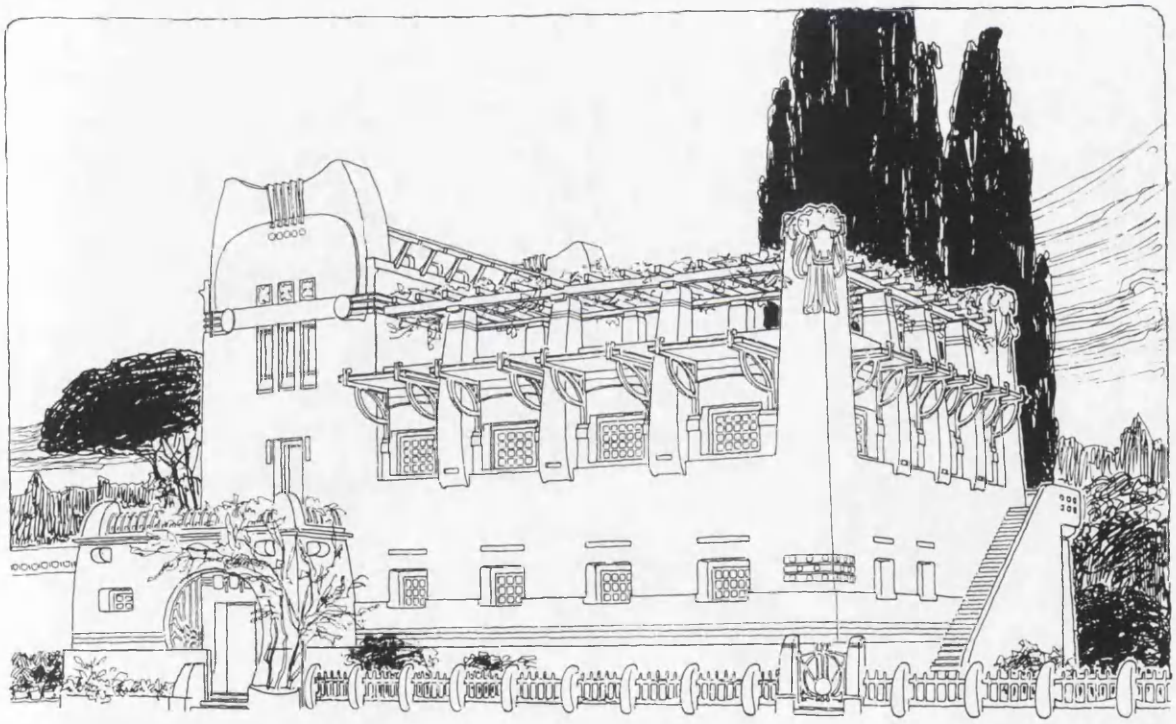
Vom Architekten Karl Benirschke

A. Fehel : Landhaus (1901)

I.66







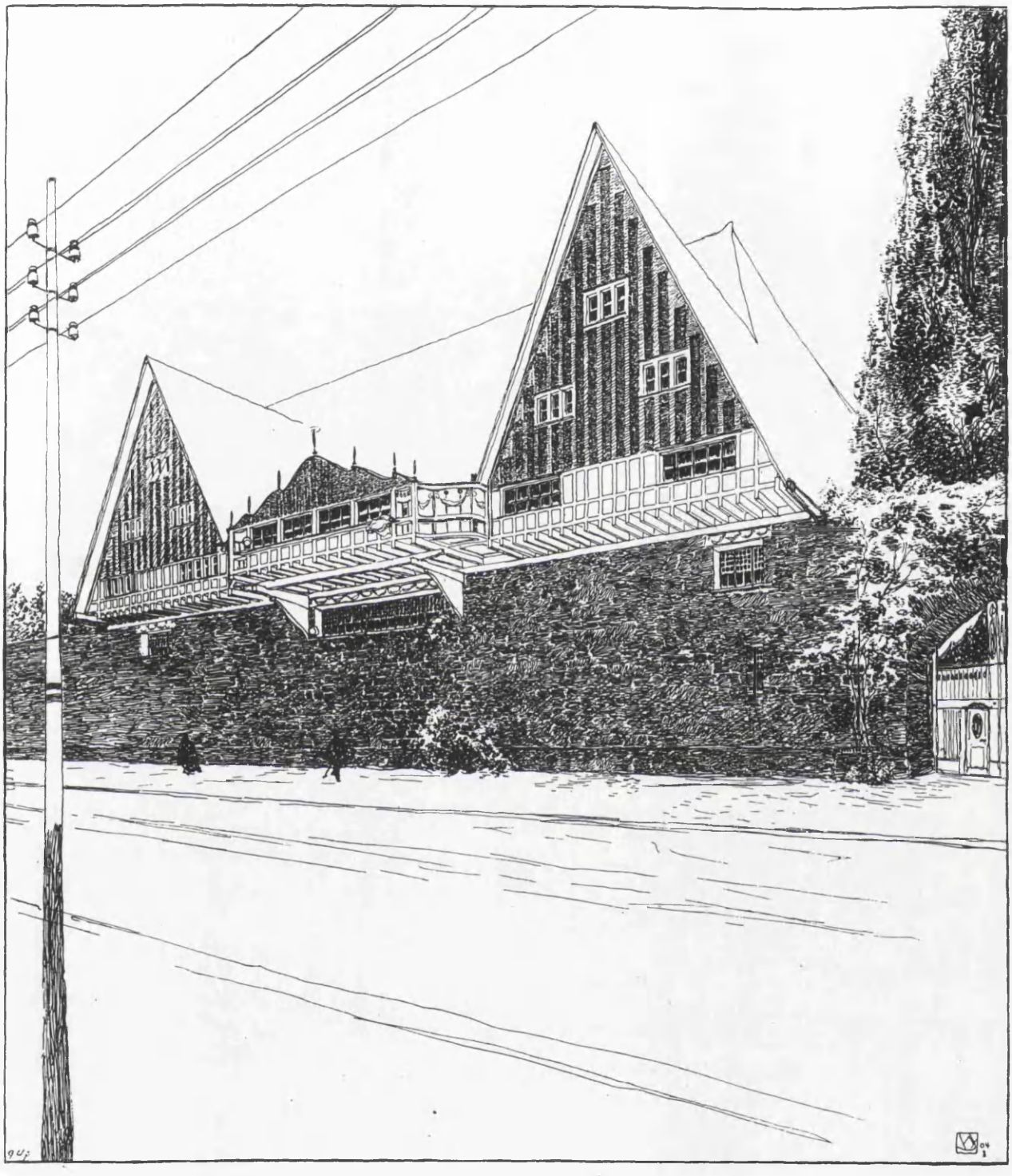
LANDHAUS FÜR MERAN

A. FEHEL.

Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

W. Jochem: Haus (1906)

I.67



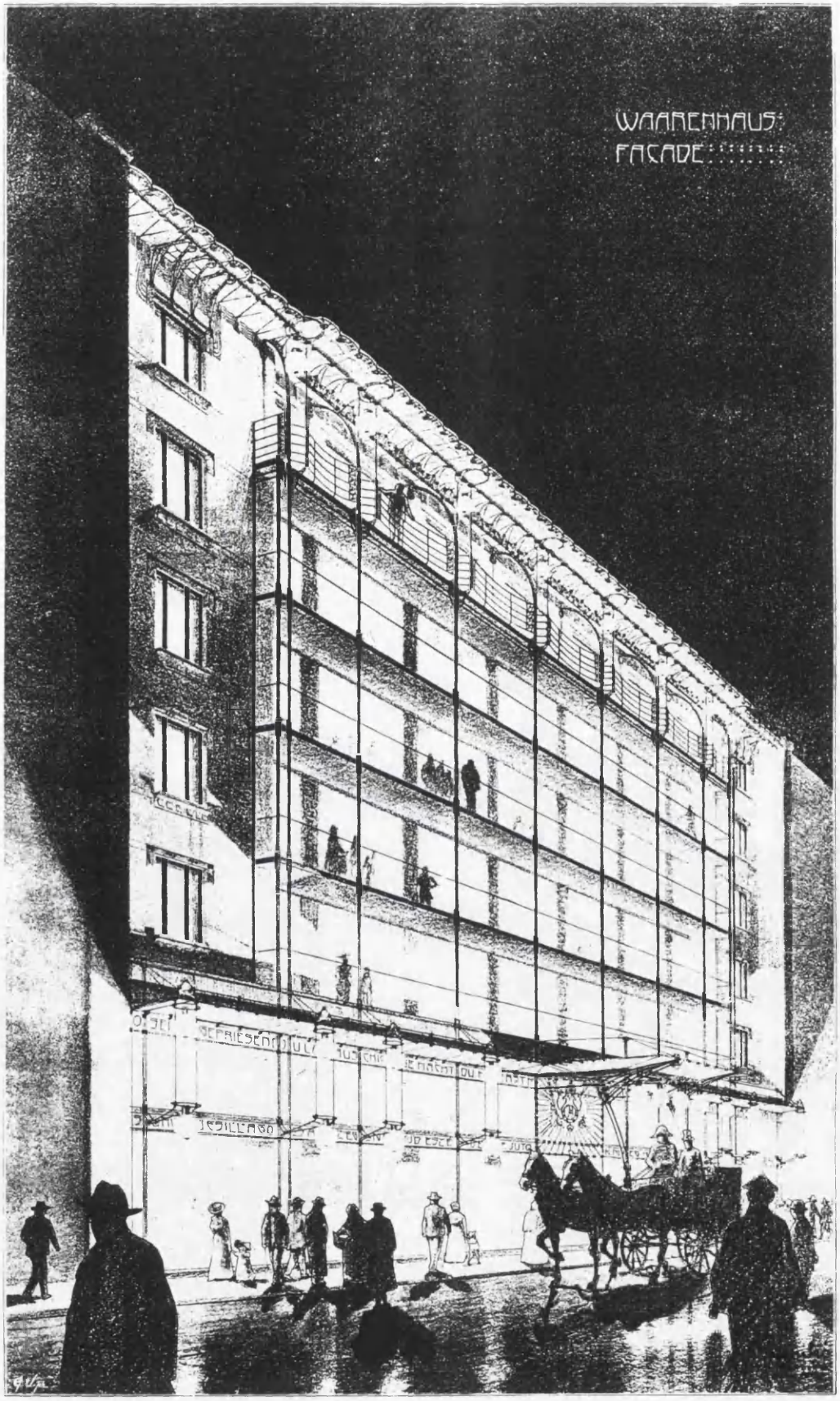
Haus an der Landstraße.
Vom Architekten F. W. Jochem.

commercial building type (office, bank or large store), (I.68,69,70) even given the economic expansion in the mid 1890's onwards, is not well represented (only two years when its representation achieves double figures). In the public sector (I.71,72,73), where a social sector of schools, hospitals and libraries and a political sector of central and local government buildings and military installations should be distinguished, there are few instances where this sector exceeds the apartment block category. This may be accounted for by the fact that public sector buildings were subject to 'open' competition so that several entries for the same competition might be represented. As a sector of the economy, (outside housing), the largest represented is the leisure sector. (I.74,75,76,77) This sector is, in general, indicative of the expansion of bourgeoise leisure forms and includes categories such as spa and Kurort, parks and gardens, hotels, theatres, sport facilities (including riding school, rowing club, hunting lodge), restaurant, tavern, cafe and exhibition and museum buildings. Religious structures (churches, chapels, graves, mausoleums) remained significant in number although, with some exceptions (and Wagner's Kirche Am Steinhof is a prominent one) (I.78,79), religious structures were no longer at the forefront of architectural activity.

There are a number of building types which are not well represented. Very noticeably, few buildings for industrial purposes are illustrated. Although there are a few instances of small production units (such as a carriage making factory, located within an existing structure in 1899, and designed by Ludwig Baumann), the first instance of a modern factory receiving full page illustration is a textile factory in 1909. (I.80,81) Wagner's Moderne Architektur makes mention of factories only with reference to zoning and not as building type, even though factory production was expanding in the decade up to 1914. Given the predominance of the rented apartment block, the terraced house as

I. Benko: Department Store (1903)

I. 68



Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien

Entwurf eines Warenhauses.

Vom Architekten Istvan Benko.

I.69

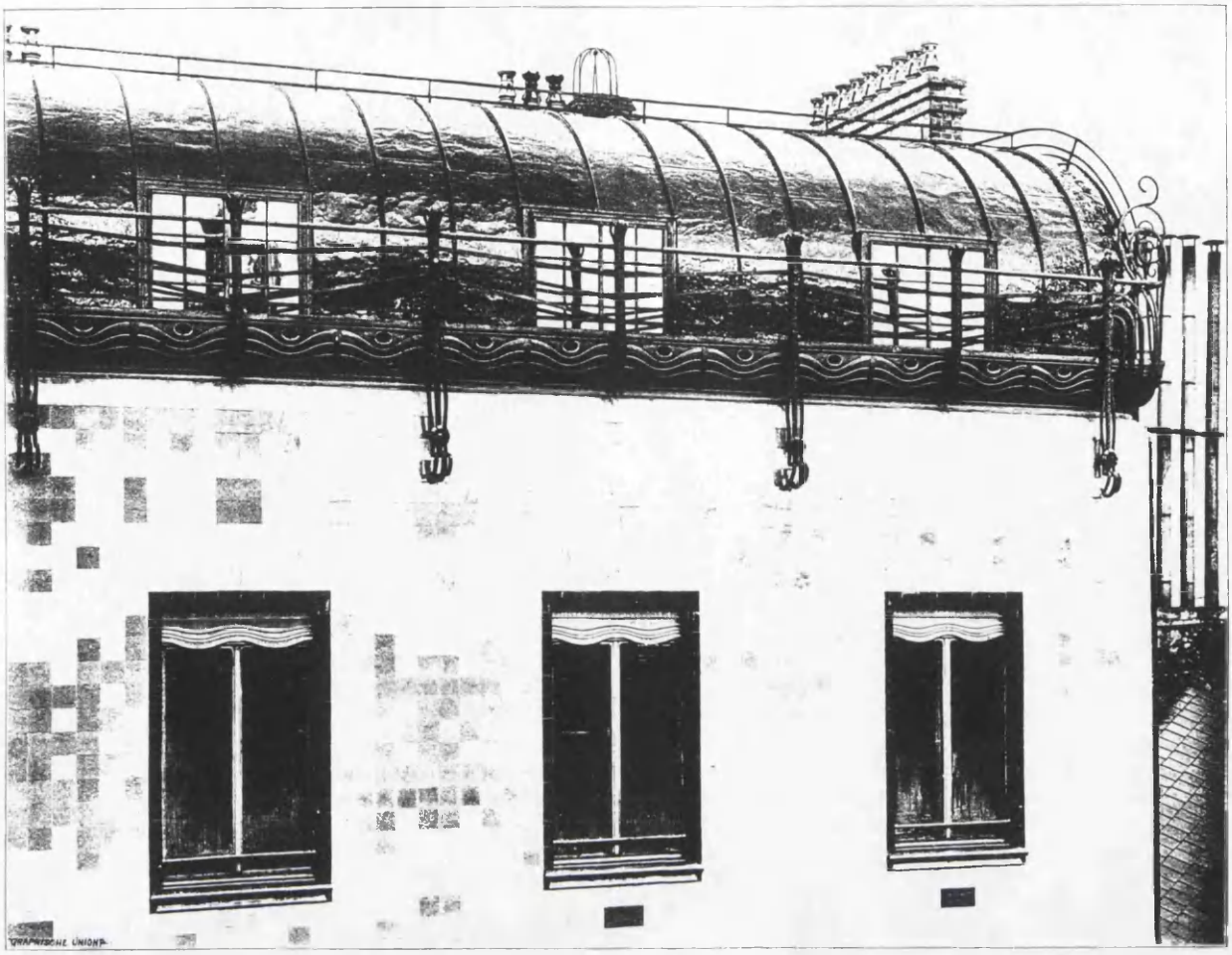
'Vorwärts' Newspaper Office:
(H.+F. Gessner: 1910)

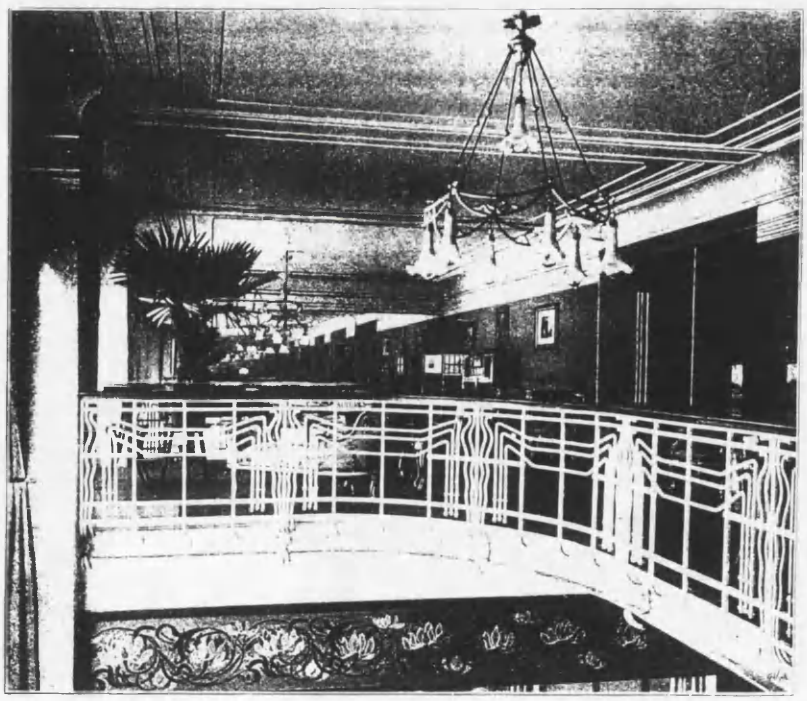
Geschäftshaus der Verlagsanstalt „Vorwärts" in Wien.

Von den Architekten Hubert und Franz Geßner.

Verlag Eduard Kosmack in Wien.

M. Fabiani : Portois + Fix (1902) I.70





Geschäftshaus Portois & Fix in Wien.

Vom Architekten Dr. Max Fabiani

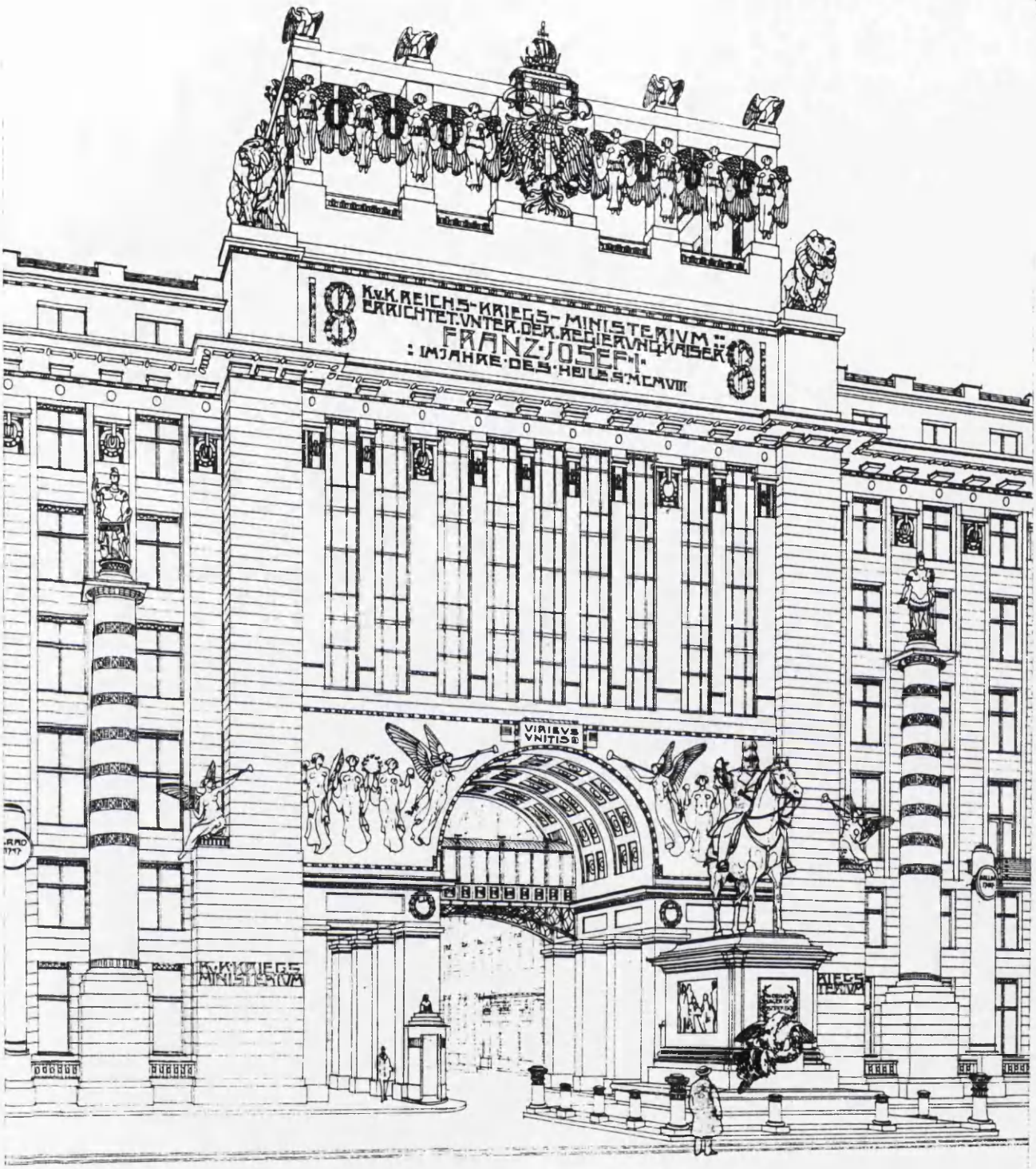
L. Kalda: Town Hall (1906)
(Ohmann School)

I.79

Projekt für ein Rathaus in Mährisch-Ostrau.

Von Leo Kalda. (Architektur-Schule Prof. Fr. Ohmann.)

O. Wagner: War Ministry (1907/8) I.72



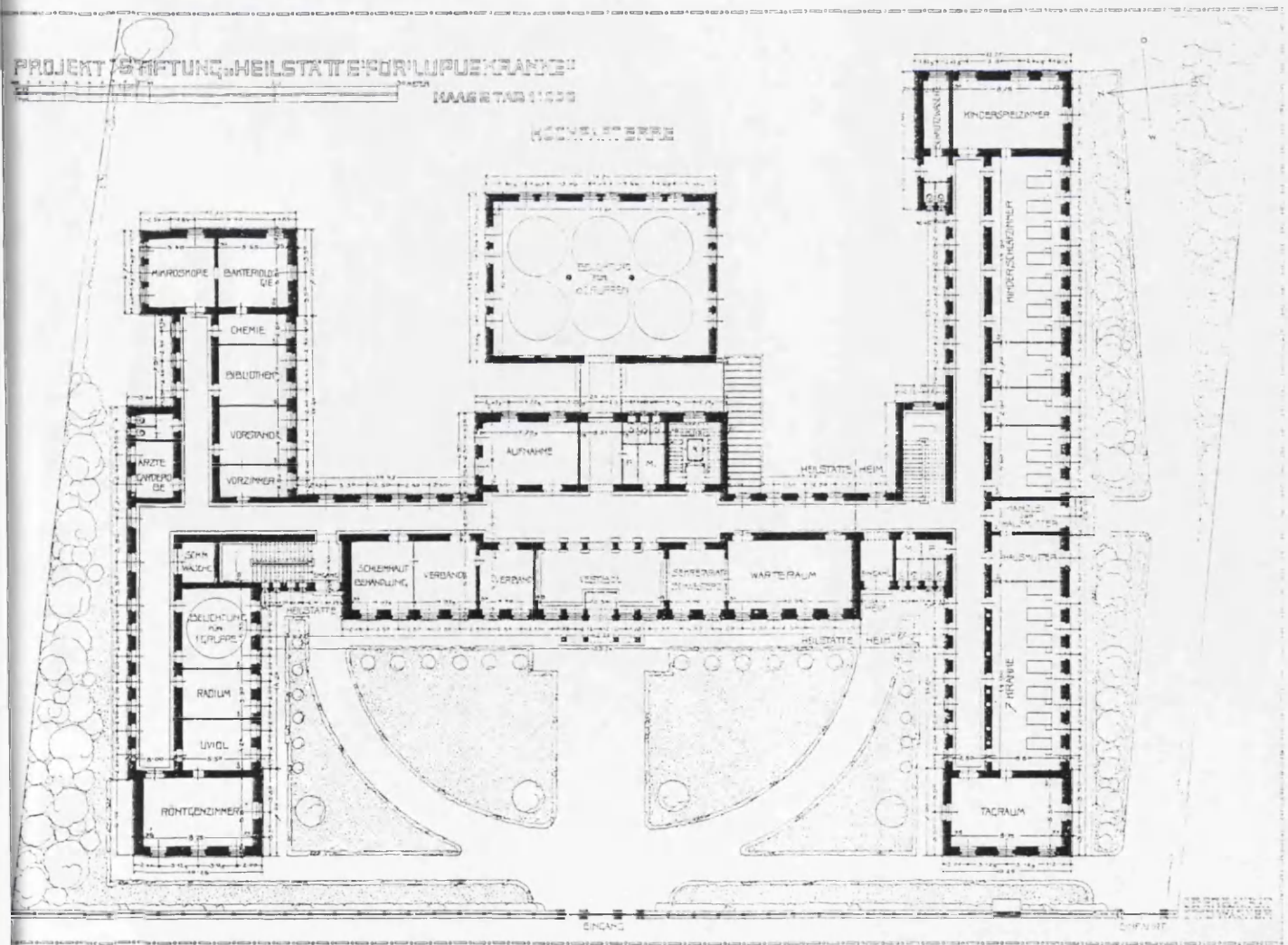
BAND IV HEFT I u II BLATT 2 VERVIELFÄLTIGUNG VORBEHALTEN

247. KRIEGSMINISTERIUM (Wettbewerbsprojekt, 1907/08): Eingangspartie mit Radetzky-Denkmal.

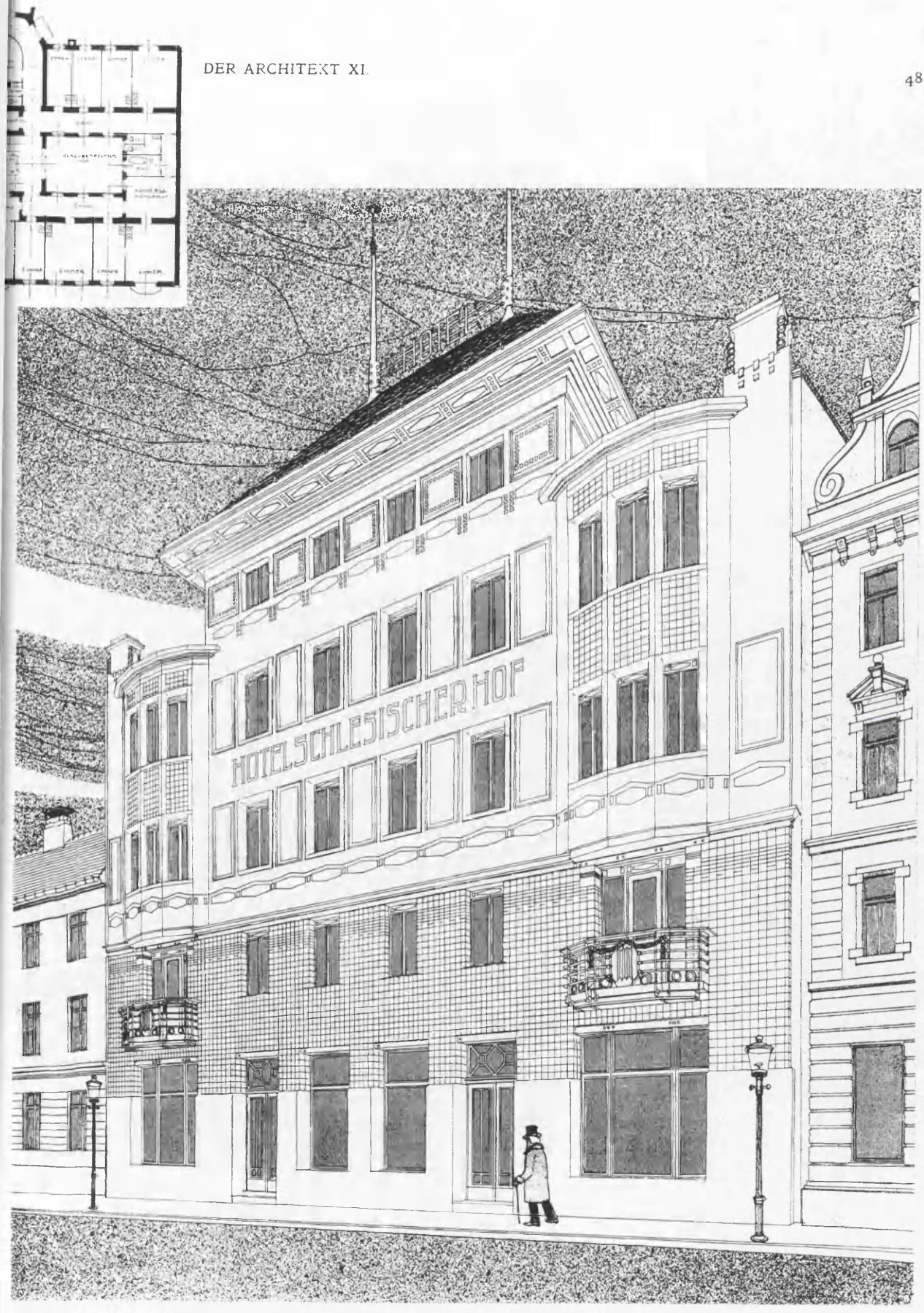
O. Wagner: Lupus Hospital (1908) I. 73

Abb. 816, 142 *Lupusheilstätte, Ansicht*

Abb. 817, 142 *Lupusheilstätte, Grundriß Erdgeschoß*



H.+F. Gessner: Hotel (1905) I.74

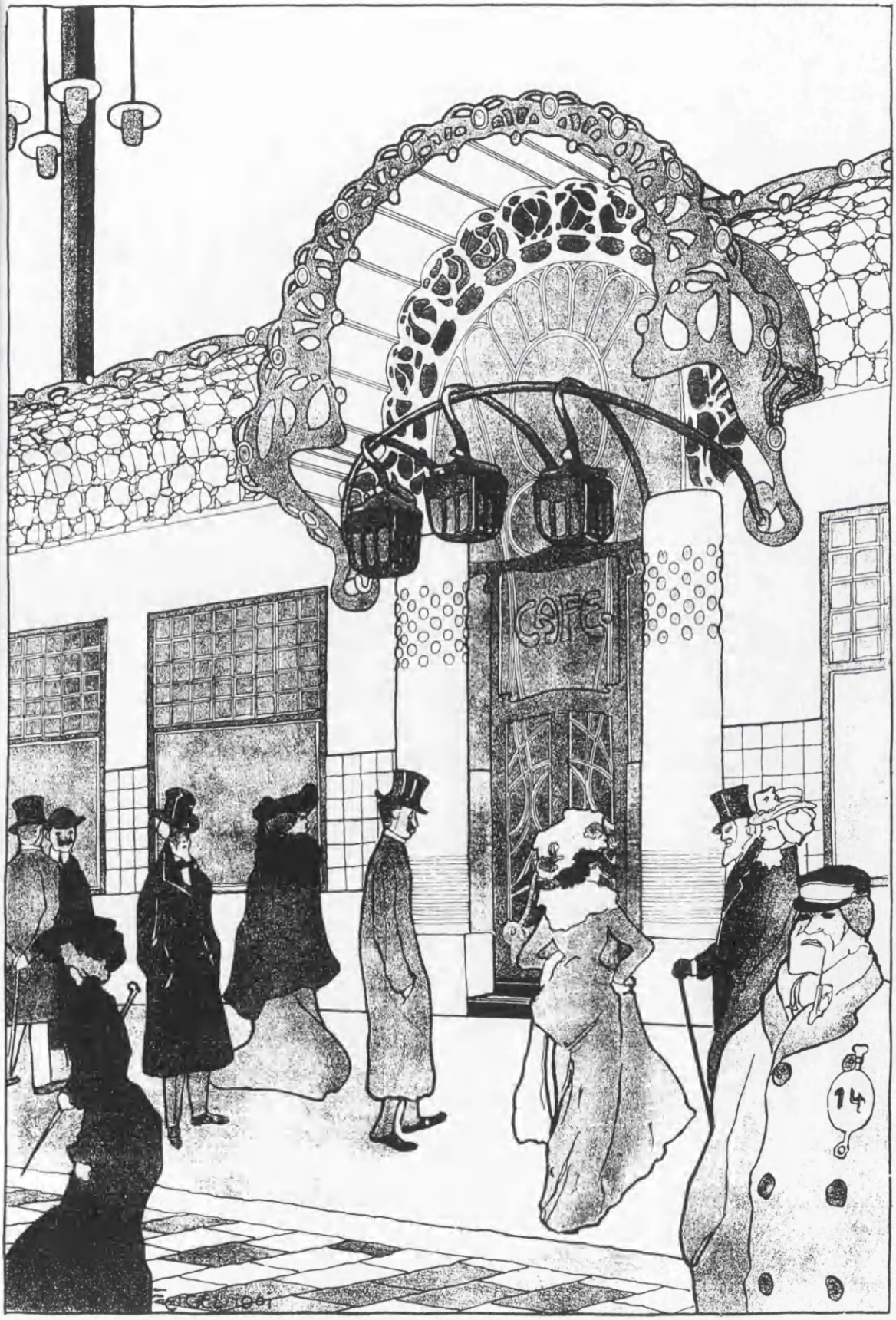


Hotel Schlesischer Hof in Troppau.

Von den Architekten Hubert und Franz Geßner.

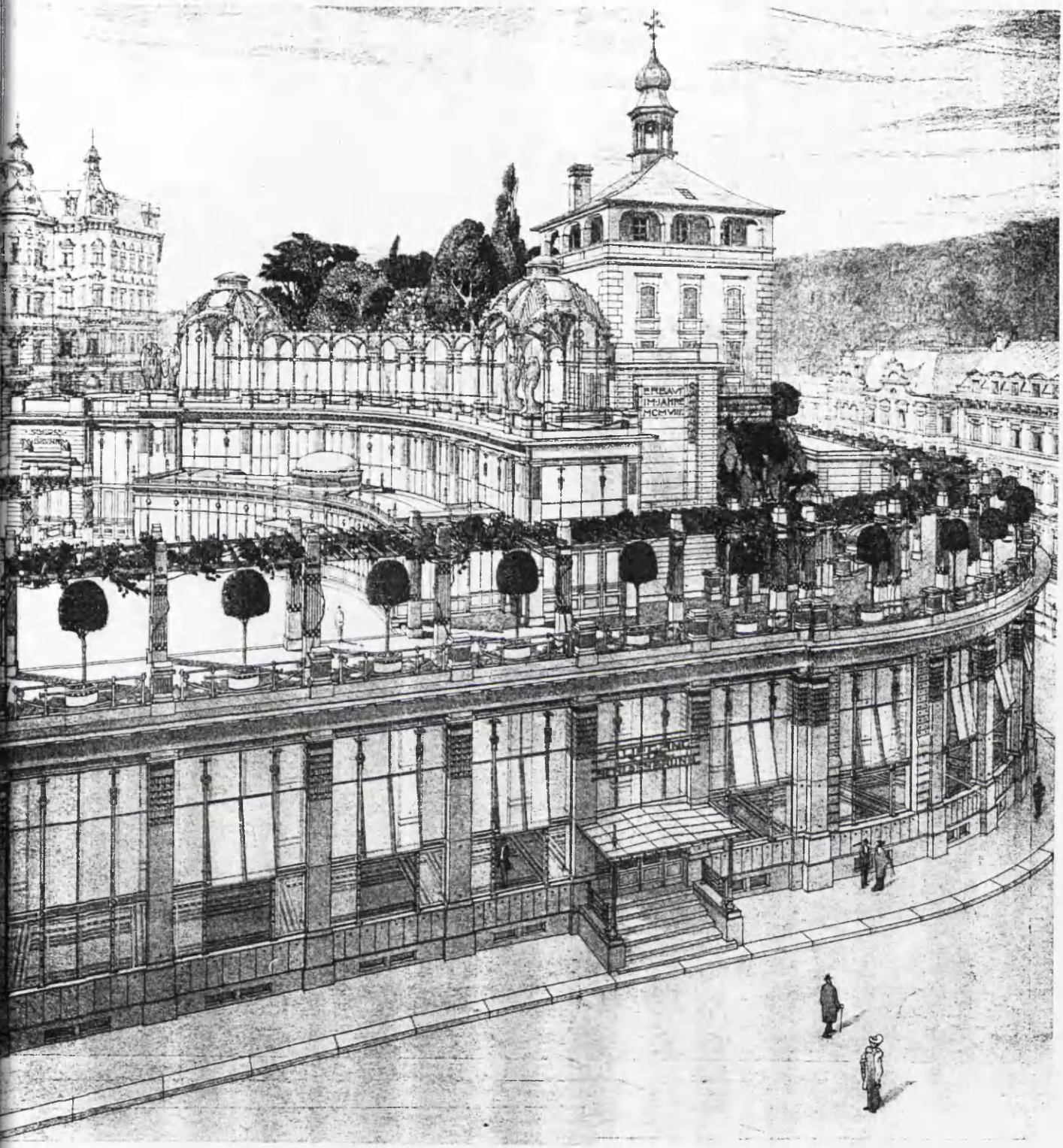
O. Felger: Cafe (1905)

I.75



Entwurf für ein Cafe-Restaurant in Wien.

O. Wagner : Karlsbad Colonade (1907) I. 76



758, 130 *Kolonnaden in Karlsbad, Ansicht aus der Höhe*

I.77

F. Ohmann: Magdeburg Museum (1901)
+A. Kirstein

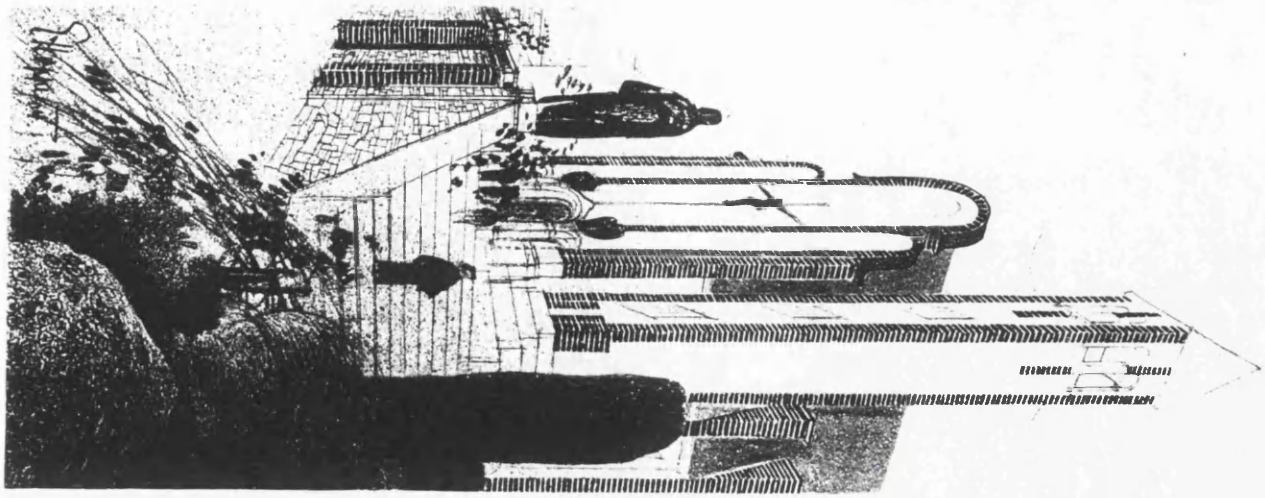
Façade in der Kaiserstraße.

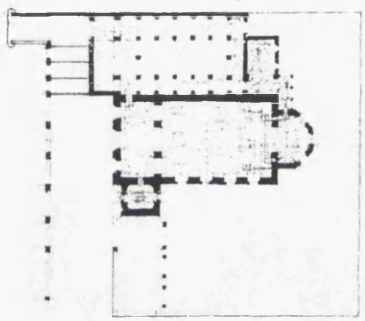
Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co.

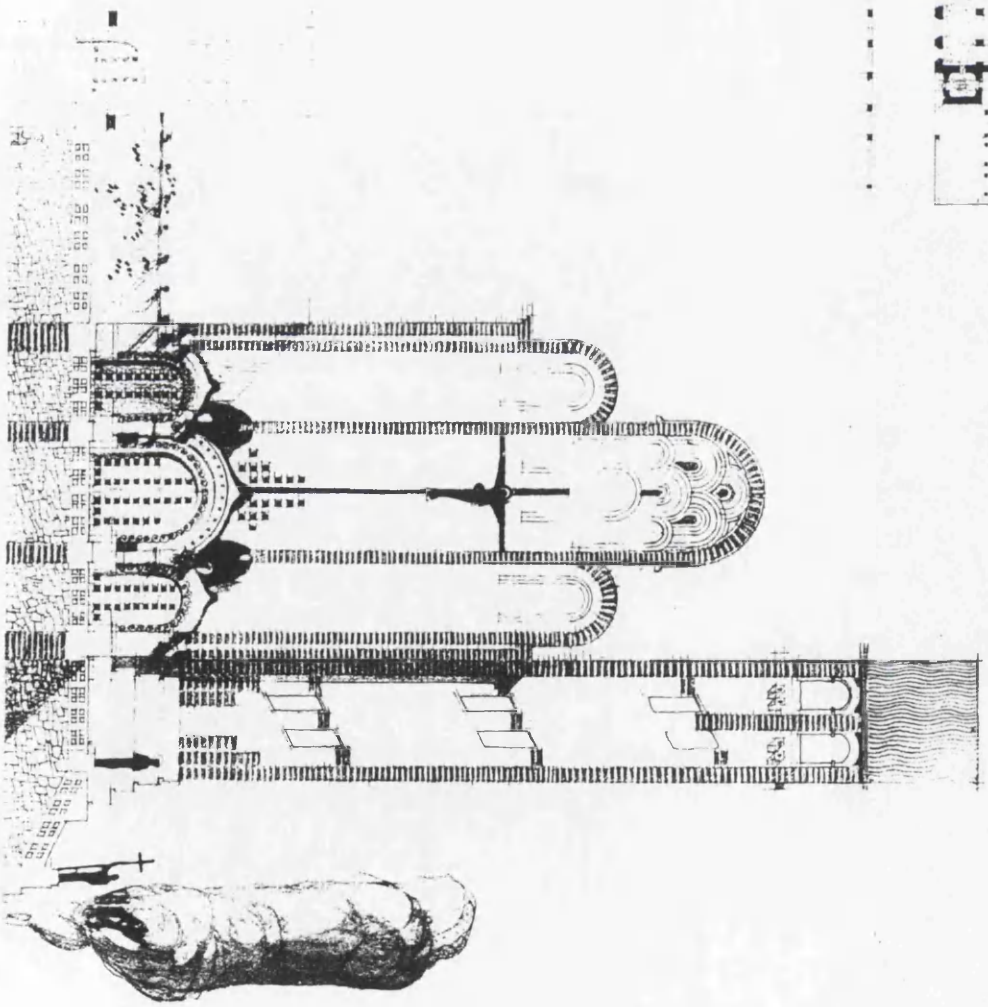
Von den Architekten Prof. Fr. Ohmann und Aug. Kirstein

E. Hoppe: Monastery Church

I.78





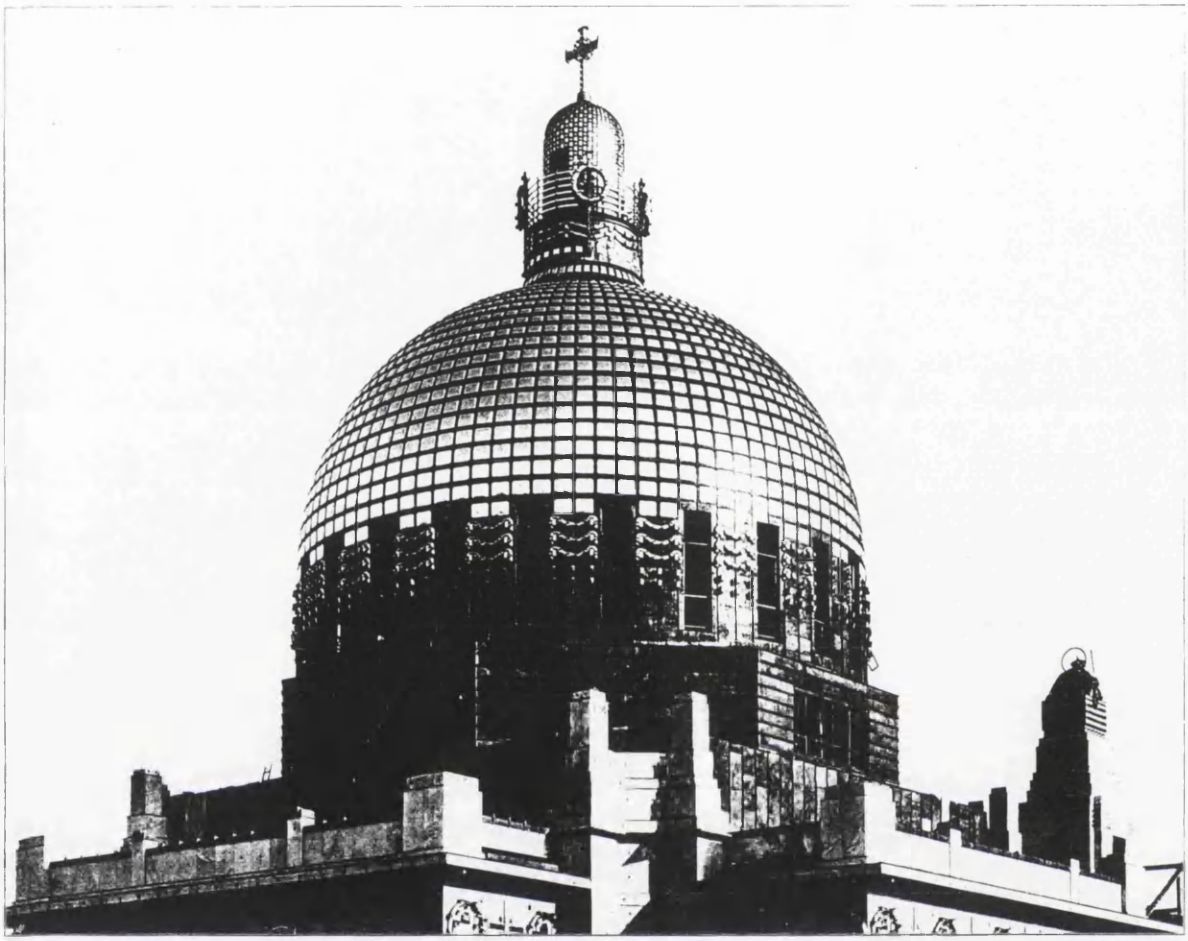


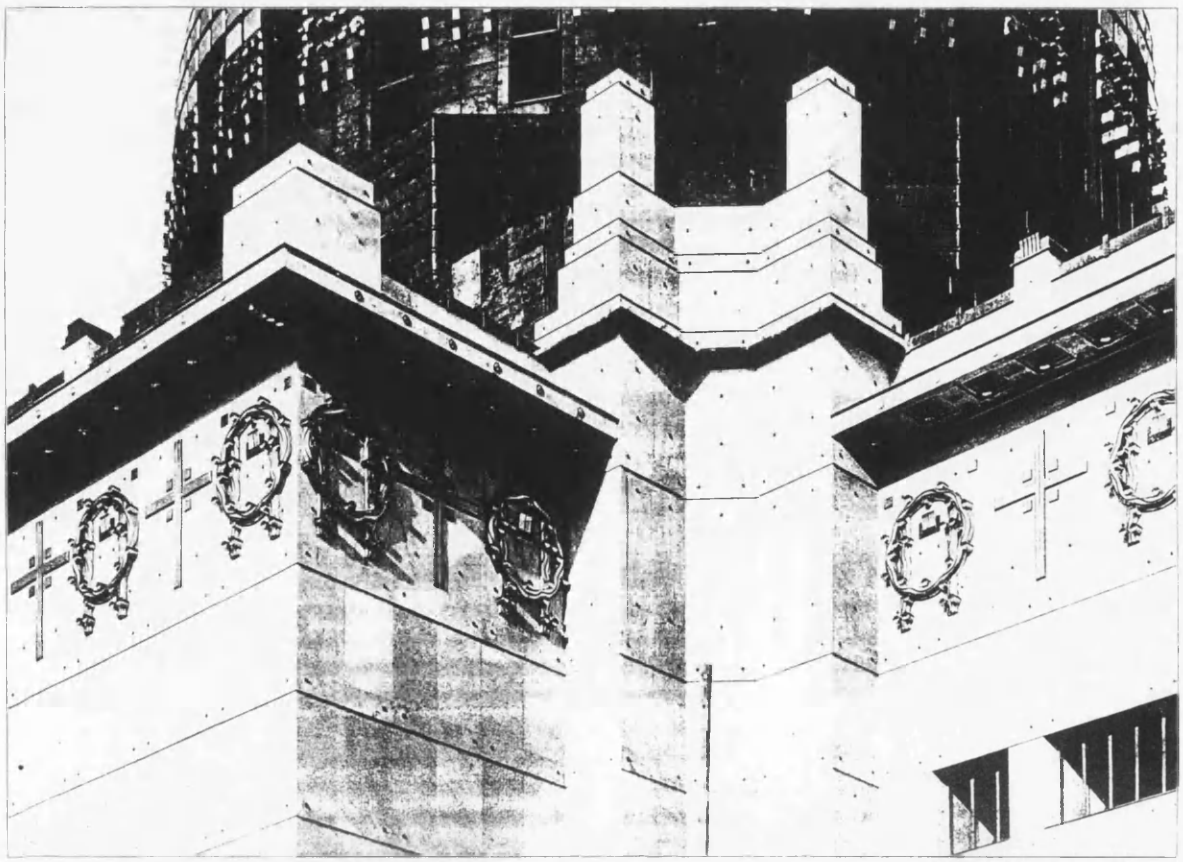
Studie zu einer Klosterkirche.

Vom Architekten E. Hoppe.

Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co. Wien.

O. Wagner: Kirche am Steinhof (Details) I. 79





Details von der Kirche der Niederösterreichischen Landes-Irrenanstalt in Wien.

Vom Oberbaurat Otto Wagner, k. k. Professor.

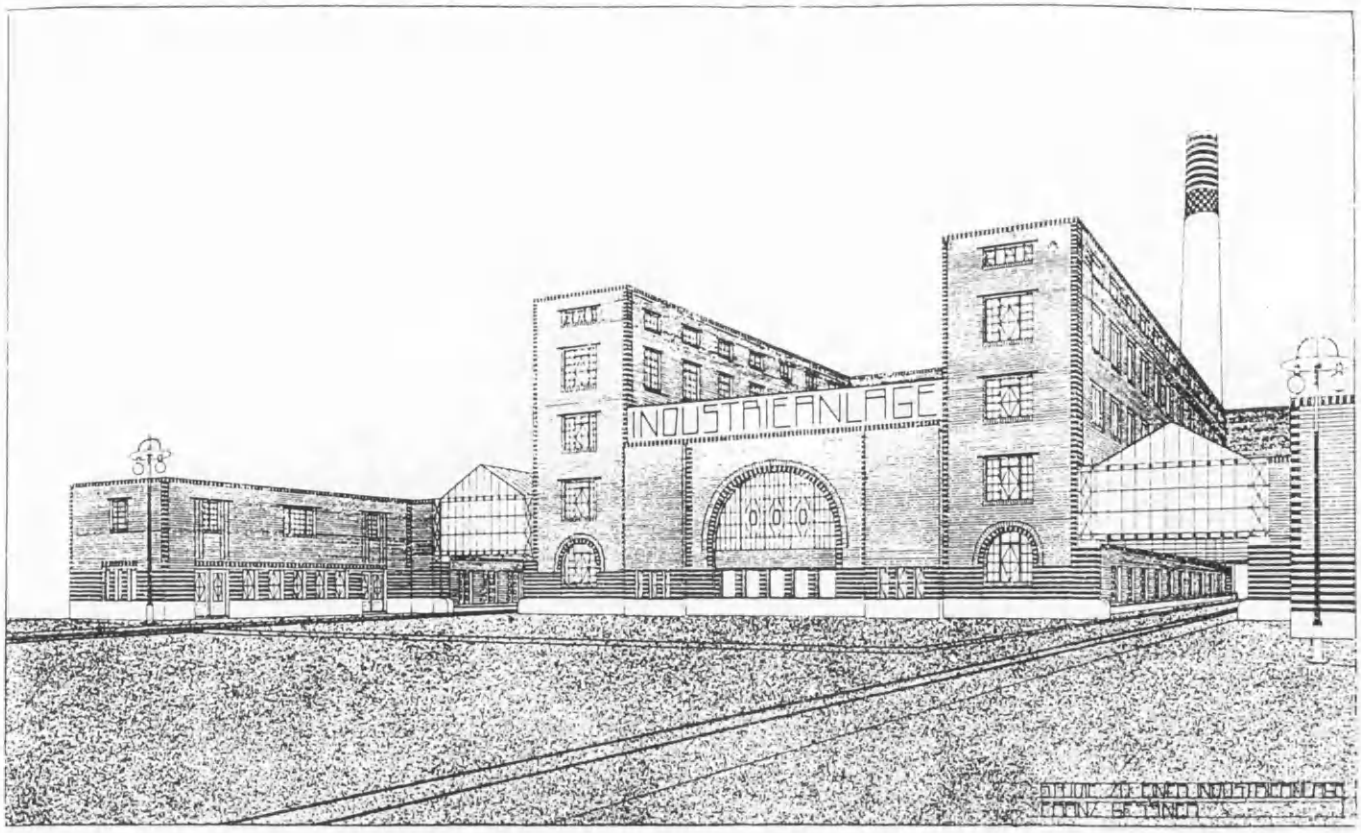
Kühn + Fanta : Textile Factory (1909)

I.80

EBEREI DER FIRMA JOH. LIEBIG
Co. IN REICHENBERG. □□□□□□□□

ARCHITEKTEN PROFESSOREN
□□□□□□□ KÜHN UND FANTA.

Verlag Ed. Kosmack in Wien.



Entwurf für eine Industrieanlage. Von den Architekten Hubert und Franz Geßner.

Über innere Grundlagen moderner Architekturauffassung.

Von Architekt (Z.-V.) Professor F. v. Feldegg.

Kein kultur- oder kunstgeschichtlicher Umschwung ist das Produkt erst jener Tage, in denen er, uns bewußt, in Erscheinung tritt. Seine Anfänge liegen vielmehr so manche Jahrzehnte, ja selbst vielleicht ein Jahrhundert weit zurück. So ist auch die moderne Kunst keineswegs ein Produkt etwa der letzten knappen anderthalb Dezennien, sondern fußt auf den Endergebnissen jener großen Aufklärungsperiode, die in die Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert fällt. Damals drängte sich den Denkern stärker als je zuvor die Erkenntnis auf, daß die Welt nicht bloß eine äußere, objektive, sondern auch eine innere, subjektive Seite habe. Man erkannte zum ersten Male klar, daß der naive Realismus oberflächlich urteilt, wenn er in der Wahrnehmung der Dinge des subjektiven Faktors vergißt, wenn er vergißt, daß jedes äußere Ding zugleich auch das Produkt unseres eigenen Geistes, unserer Art, es zu sehen, es wahrzunehmen und somit das Produkt unseres subjektiven Wesens ist.

Nach Immanuel Kant, dem Begründer dieses wissenschaftlichen Subjektivismus, folgte Schopenhauer, dessen Lehre bekanntlich in dem Satze gipfelt: Die Welt ist mein Wille und meine Vorstellung. Nach Schopenhauer kam, seinen Fußstapfen folgend, doch als Begründer moderner Kunstauffassung weit über sein Vorbild hinauseilend, Friedrich Nietzsche. Er verdichtete Schopenhauers Begriff vom „Willen zum Leben", der in jedem Wesen wirke, ja es ausmache, zu dem Begriffe „Wille zur Macht". Ohne Zweifel fand Nietzsche damit die knappste und schärfste Formel für eine subjektive, das menschliche Individuum in den Mittelpunkt stellende Weltanschauung. Wenn man deshalb, nebenbei bemerkt, das Kopernikanische Weltensystem als heliozentrische Weltanschauung bezeichnet, indem es die Sonne als das Zentrum unseres Planetensystems erkannte, so kann man Nietzsches Philosophie mit dem gleichen Rechte als egozentrische Kulturanschauung bezeichnen, indem sie das Ich, das menschliche Individuum, das kraftvolle, selbstbewußte Subjekt zum Kulturzentrum erhebt. Nietzsches „Übermensch", seine „Herren-Moral", die im Gegensatze zu der bis dahin gültigen Sklavenmoral, wie er dies ausdrückt, den Sieg des Starken und Schönen über das Schwache und Häßliche verkündete; seine Geringschätzung aller ethischen Forderungen sind nur verschiedene Ausdrücke für ein und denselben Grundgedanken: den Sieg des Subjektiven, des Individuellen über das Objektive, das Allgemeine.

Es ist nicht schwer, von dieser rein gedanklichen, philosophischen Auffassung der Welt zu einer analogen künstlerischen Auffassung zu gelangen. Befriedigte Nietzsches Lehre doch vor allem die Anhänger eben einer ästhetischen Weltanschauung, während sie die Moralisten durch ihre letzten peinlichen Folgerungen, durch ihr „Antichristentum" vielfach abstoßen mußte.

Die Lossagung der Kunst vom Objektivismus, die Verkündigung des künstlerischen Subjektivismus, war also damit vollzogen. Auch die Kunst erkannte jetzt, daß die objektiven Dinge, seien sie gegenwärtige der Natur oder vergangene der Geschichte, nicht die einwandfreien Werte sind, die sie bis dahin in ihnen zu erblicken glaubte. Auch die Kunst sah ein, daß z. B. ein Baum „an sich", daß, wieder z. B., der „Triumphzug des Germanicus" oder sonst ein geschichtliches Ereignis in seinem bloß äußeren Verlaufe noch kein Objekt der Kunst sei, vielmehr in Wahrheit erst dann zum Objekte der Kunst werde, nachdem es im inneren Auge, in der Seele eines Künstlers sich widergespiegelt hat, nachdem es mit dem Empfindungsinhalte, der „Seelennote" eines Künstlers versehen worden ist. Nicht also gilt es heute noch als Kunst, die Dinge so zu geben, wie sie an sich sein oder selbst bloß gewesen sein mögen, sondern sie so zu geben, wie ein ganz bestimmtes künstlerisches Individuum sie sieht. Nicht objektive, sondern subjektive Werte hat die Kunst zu liefern. Nicht die logische, die allgemeine Auffassung der Dinge ist künstlerisch, sondern ihre gefühlsmäßige, besondere, persönliche.

Wenn wir nun diese kunstphilosophischen Begriffe auf die Architektur anwenden, so müssen wir zunächst fest im Auge be-

H. + F. Gessner: Industrial area (1909)

building type is first illustrated in 1902; more interestingly, a portable house is illustrated in 1904; whilst in 1911 and 1913, the appearance of villa colonies, i.e. villa estates are indicative of new forms of estate [Siedlung] development. Most infrequently are instances of worker housing (I.82,83). This is in keeping with the emphasis upon private means for solving mass housing problems. In the post 1918 period, however, it is Wagner's students above all others who produce the public housing blocks of the 1920s and early 1930s.

It should be emphasized that this brief overview is of representations of building types in a single, though influential journal. More speculatively, an even more problematic classification by architectural 'style' suggests that public buildings at local and central government level continued to be predominantly in a Historicist style (in part associated perhaps with the representation of power as rooted in tradition and not subject to fashion, i.e. fragility). With the exception of Wagner's Post Office Savings Bank amongst a few others, this was also true of banks for similar representational reasons. Under Feldegg's editorship, Jugendstil and Historicism designs commence as roughly equally balanced in number, with Jugendstil in the majority by 1905 and then around 1908-10 such classification becomes more difficult except that a decline in Historicism is apparent. Of interest here is also the frequency of a 'mixed' style indicated by Ohmann's 'historical-modern' style.

VI

We are now in a position to explore in more detail Wagner's features of modern life to which a modern architecture should respond. One way into these characteristics is through an examination of a building type. From amongst these somewhat simplified groupings of building types, there is one which is of particular significance for Wagner. As

H. Gessner: Arbeiterheim (1903)

I.82

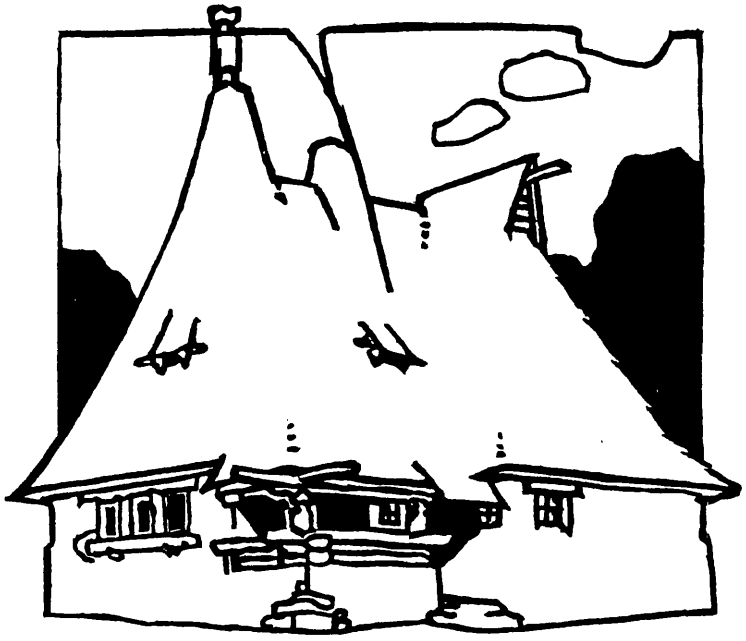
Das Arbeiterheim in Wien.

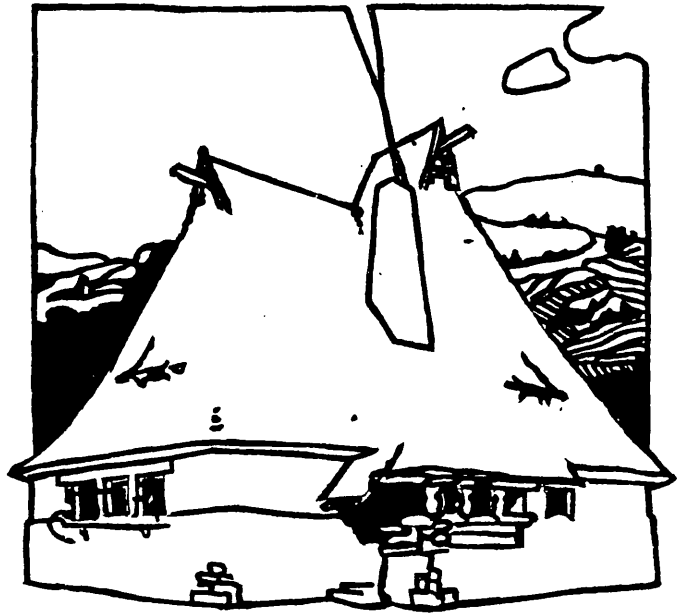
Architekt Hubert Gessner.

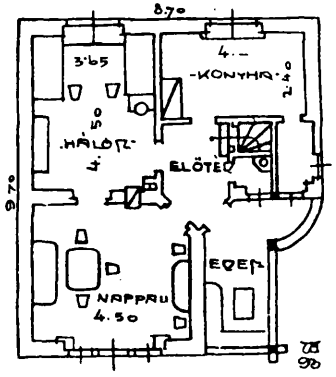
Verlag von
Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

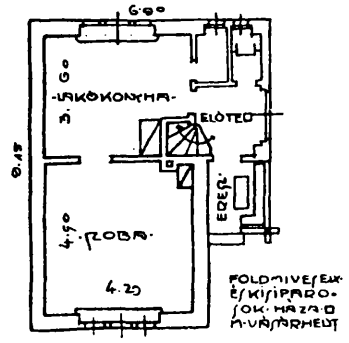
I.83
XVII

E. Wigand + M. Vásárhely:
Worker Dwellings (1911)









Arbeiterwohnhäuser in Siebenbürgen.

Architekt Eduard Wigand, Maros-Vásárhely.

we have seen, the first year of his architectural study programme was to be devoted to the rented apartment block, not least because as he declared in Moderne Architektur, 'in no other city does the modern rented apartment block play such a major role as with us' in Vienna. This building type, in its developed form as Wohn und Geschäftshaus, has been critically analysed in detail by Roland Schachel, who outlines its features as follows:

> The city rented apartment block stands between the department store and the dwelling house as far as its function is concerned but is distinguished from both by its division into enclosed, rentable units. Hence it is more accurately to be located between these and the hotel and its mixed types: palace, rented apartment block, commercial block, that are to be distinguished from the normal city rented apartment block by the predominance of the dwelling and commercial rooms of the owner, by the predominance of the rented apartments or by the predominance of the rented commercial spaces (offices).
>
> The actual purpose of the city rented apartment block is not the creation of dwellings and commercial entities, but rather the generation of interest for capital by renting. The terms "Zinshaus" or "Miethaus" clearly express this purpose, to which all other functions are subordinated. [...] Since the rented apartment house had no humanitarian purposes to fulfil, but rather its attention was directed towards acquiring renters for the house, this viewpoint would be fulfilled when it could offer encouragement to rent an apartment or to sell the house.[169]

As a building type, it can be further differentiated as: the elegant apartment block [Nobelmiethaus] (I.84) to be found especially in the Ring zone; the apartment and commercial block [Wohn-und Geschäftshaus] (I.85) to be found in the inner city, the Ring zone and in the main streets of some of the outer districts; the apartment block itself, found in most districts of the city; the mass rental blocks offering small rooms and maximizing interest in the poorer districts; and the Bassenahaus, (I.86) the earlier variant of the cheap apartment block with a single kitchen in the passageway for several families. Wagner's own constructions from the 1860's down to his last apartment house block took the form either the elegant apartment block or the apartment and commercial block.

Hansen: Palais Ephrussi (1873)

I. 84

179

J. Mayreder: Geschäfts- und Wohnhaus

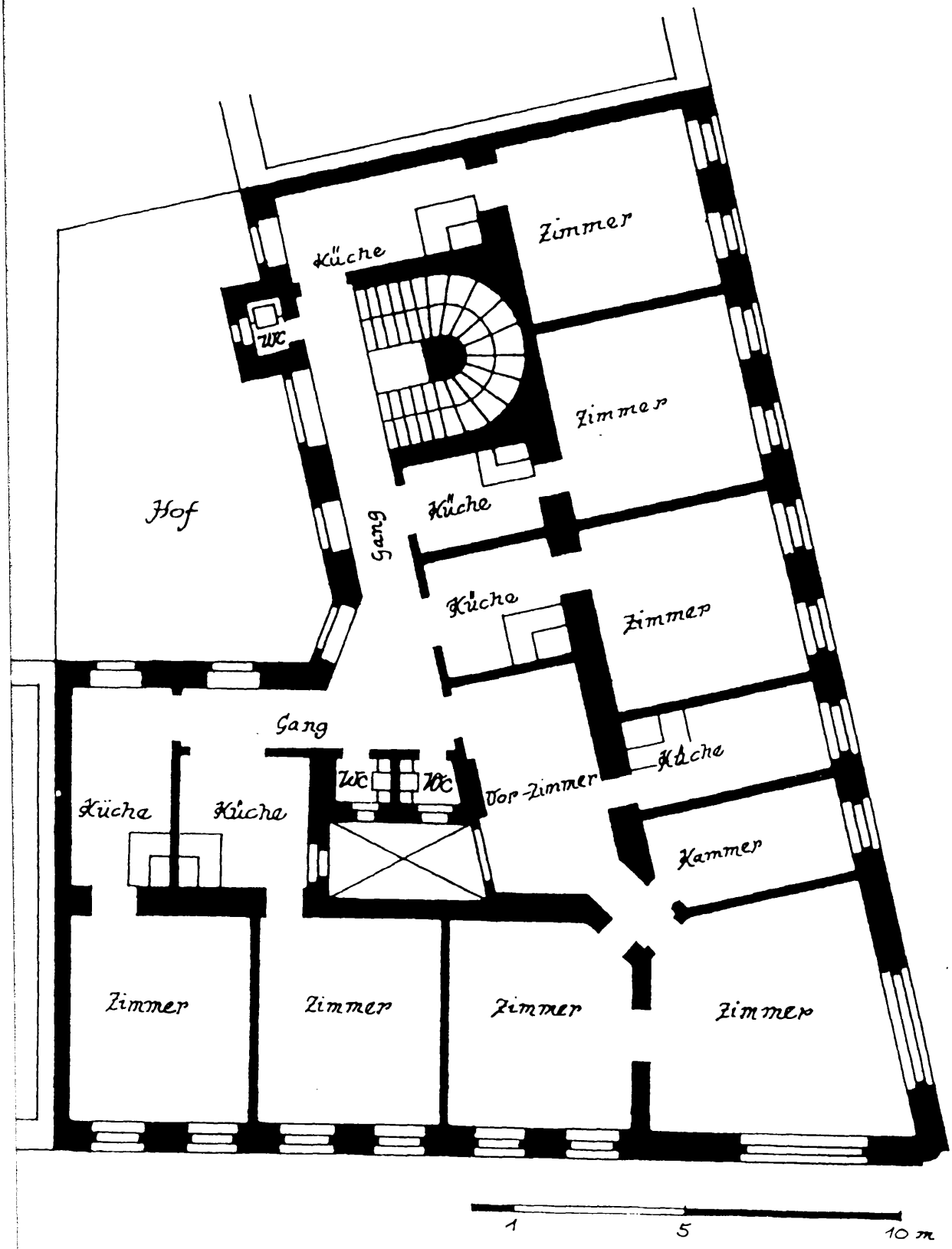
I. 85

Architekt Julius Mayreder. GESCHÄFTS- UND WOHNHAUS IN WIEN, I. NEUER MARKT.

Verlag von Friedr. Wolfrum & Co., Wien u. L

Ground Plan of Bassena House (1900)

Gangküchenhaus in Wien-Währing, erbaut 1900



What are the features, therefore, that Wagner seeks to transform and highlight in this building type? Wagner recognizes their economic significance: 'In the case of almost all rented objects the building precondition, of achieving as large as possible interest return on the invested capital, plays the major role'.[170] The architect 'must completely master the economic side' of this construction, which is why this particular building type became the task of his students in their first year of study. They were to be trained in this task 'in order that, through complete mastery of all new human achievements, that do of course change in the nature of things, the artistic viewpoints can be fully expressed'.[171] In his outline for the Neustiftgasse apartment block for 1909 (I.87) - from which this is drawn - Wagner expands upon the relationship between actual conditions and artistic expression:

> The political, economic and climatic circumstances, the mode of life, taxation, building regulations, land prices, inventions, the available building materials, workers' wage levels etc. etc. influence in every county and especially in every city the type of building.
>
> These factual circumstances must therefore be expressed in art. Since these factors are more or less different in all countries and cities, the artistic appearance of buildings must also be different in all places.
>
> In this sense, we may speak of a domestic or national art [Heimatskunst].
>
> The attempt to derive the word "domestic art" from tradition to make it palatable to the general population through the reintroduction of a stylistic architecture and to represent it as reverent must be characterised as foolish, artistically damaging and empty rhetoric.[172]

Such passages in Wagner's writings give a very concrete, if not materialist, interpretation of the architect's task in relation to the genius loci of his or her activity.

They do not reveal a fundamental contradiction in the material basis of the 'economic side' of the rented apartment block and its 'architectural expression'. The economic foundation of the rented apartment block is the maximisation of interest on

Neustiftgasse

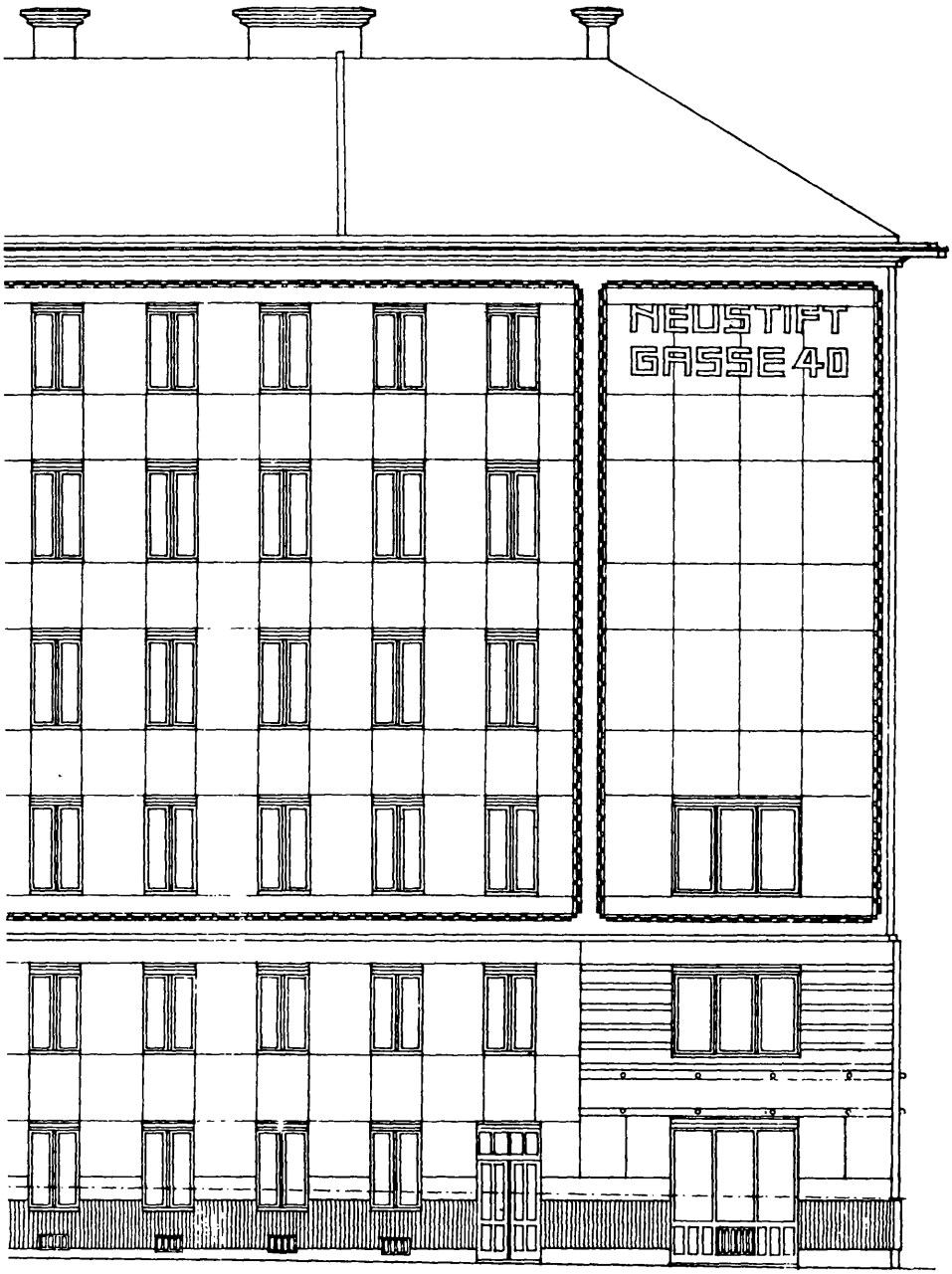


Abb. 837, 148 *Neustiftgasse, Aufriß Döblergasse, Detail*

O. Wagner: Döblergasse Elevation (Detail)

capital invested. The manner in which this is produced in turn depends upon the type of rented block. Viewed as a commodity or, in units (expressed in a square meter price), as a set of commodities, what must be realised is the exchange value of these units. As equal units, they are all equally interchangeable. Insofar as the 'architectural expression' accords with this state of affairs, it too must manifest this exchangeability.

However, there are two aspects of this architectural expression which at first sight do not accord with one another. The first is Wagner's emphasis in the early 1890's upon the development of a Nutzstil, a utility style. Although this does not fully accord with the notion of a use value, it appears to stand in contradiction to the principle of interest maximization, which is indifferent to use values. However, viewed more closely, the utility style can be interpreted differently as indeed being a style that accords with the real usefulness of the rented apartment block as an investment.

What disturbed some of Wagner's contemporaries was not the need for apartment blocks to provide maximum returns on capital invested (since noncapitalist production of dwellings was hardly developed, and even when it did occur there was much debate as to whether the state in the form of the city - the local state - was itself merely acting as a capitalist). Rather, what did give rise for concern in a society that was highly status conscious both with respect to class divisions and to fine differences in rank (given the continued power of the aristocracy and the aristocratisation [Veradelung] of significant sections of the bourgeoisie) was Wagner's identification of modern life with a process of levelling. Thus, when he argues that the introduction of the electric lift in the apartment block enables the individual units to have the same status and that the exterior of buildings need no longer reflect the differentiation and hierarchy of its inhabitants, then this was indeed a threat to acutely status conscious classes of renters and owners. Similarly, the assertion that in our way of living we are 'becoming similar to one another daily' gives

further justification to Wagner's treatment of the apartment block and further concern for the status conscious bourgeoisie and aristocracy. Whether Wagner's assertion is an accurate one would have to be examined empirically. At first glance, it would be more likely that the working classes were of necessity acquiring similar life-styles, even though, at the time of Wagner's statement, this class was itself highly differentiated.[173] It would perhaps be more plausible to argue that different classes of people were developing similar life styles within their particular class. What is important here is Wagner's assumption of levelling and the consequences he draws from this for his architectural practice.

As Haiko has pointed out, this levelling process within the rented apartment block became more apparent when, in the 1902 edition of Moderne Architektur, Wagner referred to the modern apartment block as a 'conglomerate of cells' [Zellenkonglomerat].[174] Such objectivity - and Wagner specifically demands of the architect that he or she take full cognisance of the Sachlichkeit of modern circumstances - suggests total interchangeability of elements. Indeed, such concepts not merely accord with putative levelling tendencies in modern society, but also indicate that, in one sense, it is an abstract mass that is being created. Wagner does not explore the processes by which levelling tendencies, such as the reduction of value to money value, create only one possible mode of evaluation - a purely formal one. If an individual has the money available to rent an apartment, then where this is the sole criterion for entry into the apartment block, it is the only differentiating factor amongst those seeking rented accommodation. This same levelling principle is at work in the Post Office Savings Bank, the city railway and the museum - the sole formal prerequisite for entry is the necessary money payment. It is abstract individuals, indeed an abstract mass of individuals, who enter these structures. This logic of abstraction also applies - though not through the medium of money - to the Am Steinhof church in the

grounds of the mental hospital complex (where the principle is prior classification as mentally disturbed).

The objectivity of Wagner's standpoint is, of course, not fully realised in all his architectural projects. Wagner's last apartment block at the junction of Neustiftgasse (1909) and Döblergasse (1911) comes closest to expressing the conglomerate of cells, with the exception of two apartments, in one of which Wagner himself lived. More ambiguous are the two houses on the Wienzeile (1898) (I.88) which, as Haiko argues,

> with their stereotyped rows of windows do not deny the character of the modern dwelling blocks as a "conglomerate of cells" postulated by the architect; they do indeed pass on the purposive form to the architecture's observer, but really only repeated as metaphor, for the one with the aesthetically exquisite majolica cladding, the other with the equally materially exquisite gold stucco elevates both buildings from the profane sphere of base capital accumulation into that ideal of the one and only "truthful" artistic production.[175]

Haiko goes on to suggest that it is the ideal reflection of modern life rather than the real reflection which is Wagner's aim, since for him, 'the true modern architect, as the crown of modern humanity, represents the unification of idealism and realism. In so doing, idealism is only propagated by artistically thinking architects, realism as the demand and task which the building engineer [Bautechniker] has to accommodate'.[176] Yet it is precisely this unity of idealism and realism that even the most sympathetic of Wagner's contemporary critics, such as Streiter, founding wanting. At all events, this aesthetic claim does not immediately provide a way into a fuller understanding of the modern life which Wagner's modern architecture was to express, except to provoke questions as to the need of modern human beings to seek ideal representations of the real, to seek the real masked as the ideal, to transcend the real, and so on.

It is possible, however, to provide some indication of why the emphasis upon usefulness [Nutz] and purpose [Zweck], individual differentiation and levelling may have

128. MIETHAUS LINKE WIENZEILE 40 (Majolikahaus; erbaut 1898/99): Anschluß an das Haus Nr. 38, dessen ursprünglich vergoldete bronzene Halbfiguren über der Traufe von Othmar Schimkowitz stammen.

O. Wagner: Majolika House,
Linke Wienzeile 40

been threatening for those opposed to modernity's consequences and to Wagner's work in particular. The cultural critic of the influential Neue Freie Presse, A.F. Seligmann devoted several articles in the first decade of the twentieth century to an attack on Wagner's presuppositions concerning modern life. In 'Art for Use' [Zweckkunst],[177] Seligmann reverses Wagner's dictum that 'something unpractical can never be beautiful' with the assertion (directed at Wagner, Hoffmann and the Secession movement) that 'just as little can something for this reason already be useful because it is beautiful, so just as little is something beautiful because it is useful'.[178] The modern architect's 'fundamental error rests on the fact that the concept "beautiful" is a variable and dependent one'. The variability and contingency of modernity is here juxtaposed to a timeless ideal sphere. For Seligmann this is borne out by the emergence of the concept of a 'false secession', whereas a ' "false" Gothic' or ' "false" baroque' was never spoken of because in the past 'a canon, a language of forms existed that was fully confirmed ... by rules'.[179]

Unnecessary differentiation and recourse to what lies outside the 'accepted' canon (such as oriental style), in modern architecture and applied arts has a deeper, more disturbing origin - for Seligman, 'the misunderstood slogan of "Individualism" is responsible'. Individualism is confused with arbitrariness' producing 'complete anarchy in art and applied arts'. This excessive individualism will continue as long as 'a kind of logical grammar of forms'[180] that is associated with a particular 'tradition' does not exist.

Elsewhere, Seligmann hints at what is socially disturbing about the Secession movement. Although there had always existed 'Frondists' and individual artists struggling against the dominant tradition, in the 1890's such artists became organised in a Secession movement that 'formed formidable battalions and compact minorities' transforming issues of 'personal taste' into 'questions of party membership [Parteizugehörigkeit]'. The

material success of this movement can in part be attributed to social circumstances and, in particular,

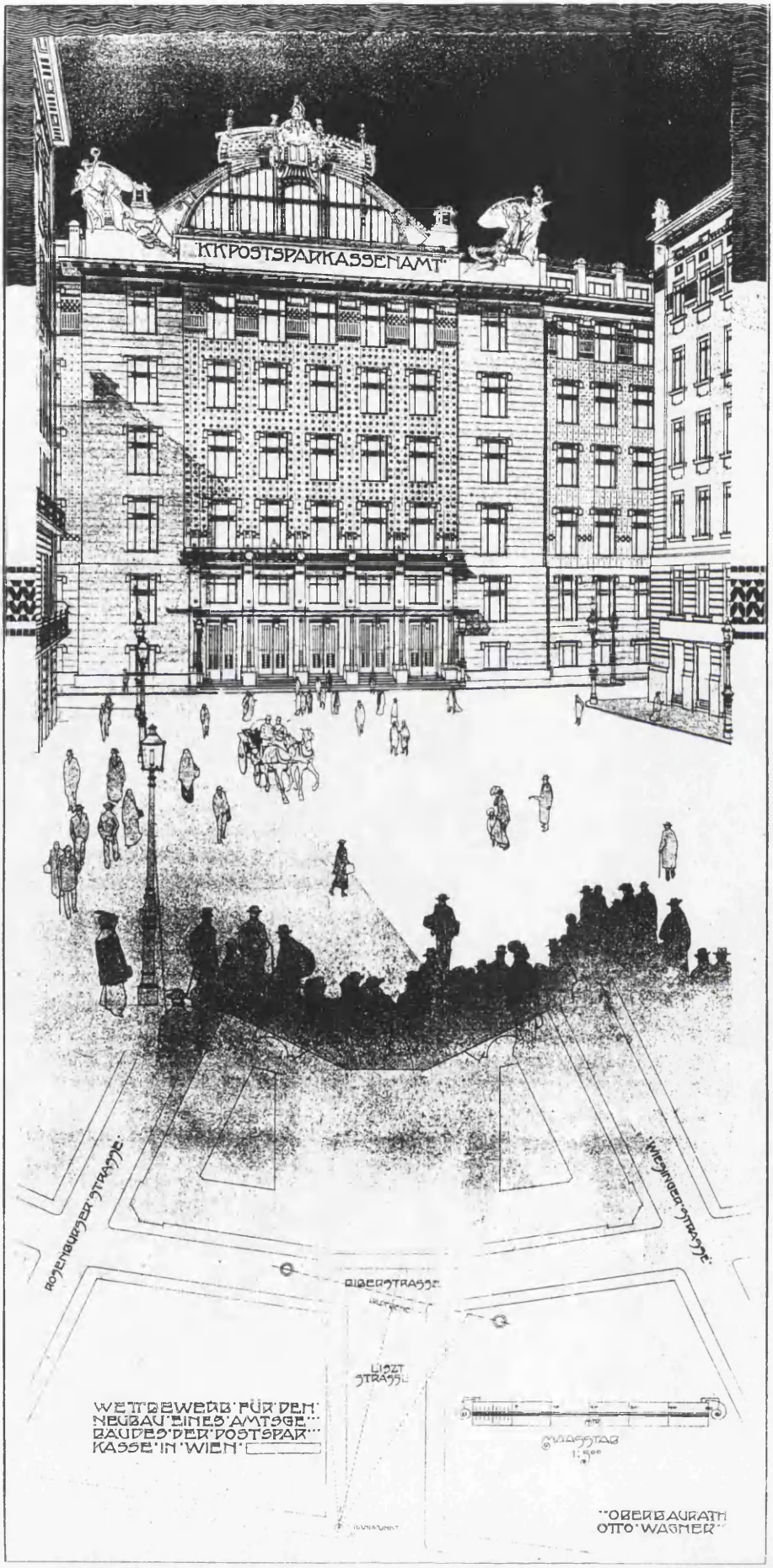
> As a result of the economic upturn broad strata of society appeared on the surface who, without any kind of connection with the past, without respect for the achievements of the epoch that had no command over them, ignored all tradition, reached for everything that was new, supported it [the Secession - D.F.] for no other reason than that it was indeed new and thus appeared to them to be homogeneous. [...] It is interesting that at present [1907-D.F.] in the very best circles, in which a tasteful tradition was indeed always at home, in Paris and London as well as here, it is more "the old" that is valued, purchased and collected.[181]

The emergence of new social strata onto the 'surface' of society (but lacking real roots in it) interested in what is new is contrasted with the old, rooted strata whose taste is for the old. This semantic dichotomy presumes that what is only on the surface will eventually disappear and that the established, rooted strata will remain. This is the rhetoric not so much of a class society but an aristocratic rank society [Ständestaat].

This taste for the new and the practical is fully epitomised in Wagner architecture, in the new post office savings bank (I.89,90,91), for example - 'one of the most miserable constructions of all times', in which 'all beauty lies in its purpose'.[182] Like Wagner's plans for the city museum 'obtrusively modern, in railway station and palm house style',[183] his own description of the savings bank emphasised 'construction and choice of materials appropriate to purely practical needs. Here the walls with a white cast glass mass, there the desks and writing desks covered in hard rubber: no dirt, indestructible! Everywhere aluminium, a metal that does not oxidize, so that it does not require to be specially cleaned'.[184] The sheer nakedness of the usefulness of everything inside the building is matched by the 'appalling idea' on the exterior of 'securing marble plates on the wall like weather tiles with nails or screws'. Such a building has affinities with a 'purely purpose-built construction' that has nothing to do with architectural form.

O. Wagner: P.S.K. Competition (1903) I. 89

ettbewerb um den
u des k. k. Post-
arkassen-Amtes in
Wien.

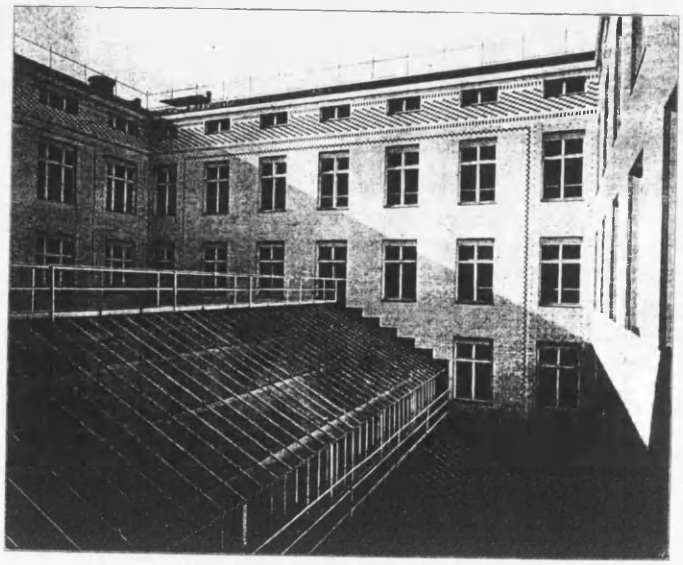


Prämiierter Entwurf des k. k. Oberbaurates und Professors Otto Wagner.

Savings Bank: Details

I.90

Haupteingang.



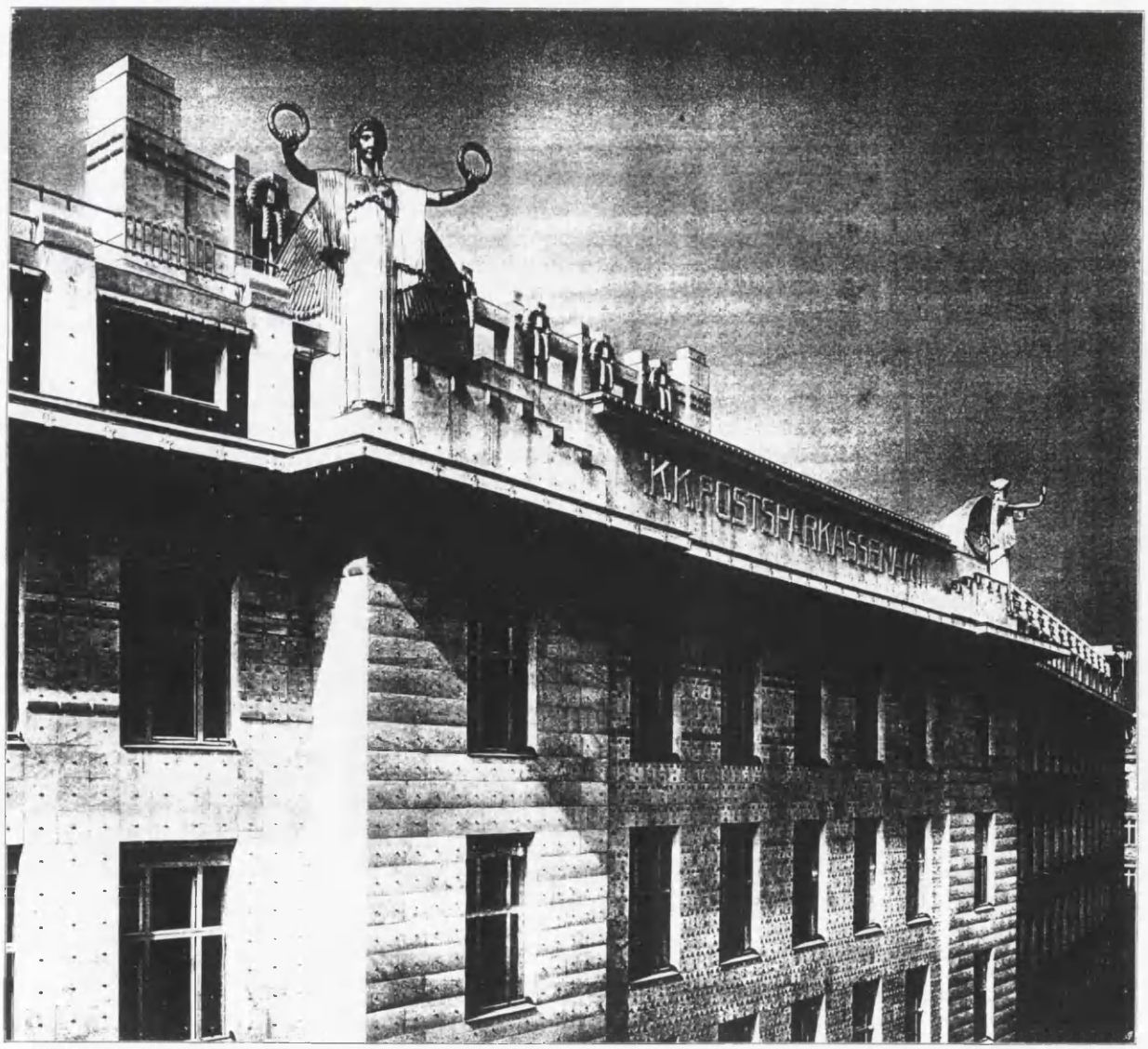
Hof.

Vom k. k. Oberbaurat Prof. Otto Wagner.

Details vom Gebäude der k. k. Postsparkasse in Wien.

Savings Bank: Details

I.91



Details vom Gebäude der k. k. Postsparkasse in Wien.

Vom Oberbaurat Otto Wagner, k. k. Professor.

Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., Wien.

> Whoever wishes to build a locomotive in Renaissance or Gothic or any kind of "style" at all events belongs in the lunatic asylum. But a machine and a work of architecture are precisely two fundamentally different things. What is unpleasantly disturbing about the external appearance of the building is not the conjunction of purpose and architectural form but rather, in contrast, the contradiction between them. Here an obtrusive emphasis on naked construction ... elsewhere a profusion of ornament.[185]

Wagner's description of the rented apartment block as a 'conglomerate of cells' already anticipates Corbusier's concept of a 'dwelling machine'. His emphasis upon construction and its open presentation is precisely that which would offend those who prefer elaborate masking and for whom 'naked construction' is not art.

Of course, the significance of the exterior of the savings bank is not revealed by Seligmann's perspective. It can be argued, as does Haiko, that the representation of the constructive dimension has a deeper significance.

> The aim is not the visualisation of construction in itself but rather the remembrance of it. For all future time, the economic, time-saving element remains manifest in the construction chosen. Each of the fifteen thousand nails on the facade of the Post Office Savings Bank thereby acquires a memorial character. It does not make its appearance in a real function but rather in a semantic function [Sinn-Funktion].[186]

Again, Haiko seeks to reveal the representational dimension of Wagner's realism.

The response of Seligmann and others to Wagner's representation of modern life indicates the threat that is posed by putative features of modern existence with respect to utility, purpose, individual differentiation and levelling. There is a further dimension of metropolitan modernity which Wagner intimates but does not fully develop - the transformation in our perception of the city.

When Wagner lays emphasis upon the architect's need to respond to the economic requirement of modern life, then this may also refer to the speed of construction as well as other economic constraints in the building process. At the same time, however, his

reference to 'time is money' (in turn unwittingly recalling Benjamin Franklin) points to a more general acceleration in modern economic transactions, not merely in production but also in circulation, exchange and consumption. In turn, the circulation of commodities is accompanied in the metropolis by an acceleration in the circulation of individuals qua individuals but also as commodities. As we have seen, the Ringstrasse is a powerful symbol of circulation, even though its individual monumental elements lack a common language of form and even though, as Sitte pointed out, they exist 'without any relationship in a spatial medium whose sole stablising element is a thoroughfare of human beings in motion [eine Verkehrsader bewegter Menschen]'.[187] Sitte, of course, does not wish to examine fully the implications of 'human beings in motion' as the unifying link in this thoroughfare since he seeks to argue precisely against those city planners and architects who he sees as preoccupied with traffic [Verkehr], and against those who would see the modern metropolis as consisting precisely of people in endless motion with little time for the old city and its squares.

Wagner, in contrast, draws attention to our perspective of the city when we are in motion. His contemporary, Simmel, drew different conclusions from the bombardment of our senses with every crossing of the street, the overwhelming multiplicity of impressions, our inability to cope emotionally with the myriad of interactions and intersection which the modern metropolis offered. For Simmel, the result was a 'dramatic increase in our nervous life' and the need for the individual to acquire a protective mechanism, an intellectual or mental reserve over against the bombardment of our senses with endless stimuli.[188] Wagner's focus is a visual one, drawing attention to the fact that 'the modern eye has also lost the sense for small intimate scale'. The loss of attention to detail may be a function of economically and spatially accelerated circulation, the result of our own tempo on the street (time is money) or in the new means of transport (such as Wagner's Stadtbahn). A feature

of our modern practical life is that we are in motion. The modern eye 'has become accustomed to less varied images, to longer straight lines, to more expansive surfaces, to larger masses'.[189]

There are a number of features being highlighted here that are relevant to modern metropolitan existence. The reference to the loss of a sense of small scale presumably applies to the exterior features of the metropolis, but it remains an open question as to whether this is also true of interiors. The reference to less varied images is contradicted by Simmel's conception of the metropolis and the bombardment of our senses with external stimuli of increasing variety. It is also about to be contradicted by the technology of viewing and representing the city itself with the development of the moving image, the cinematograph. As a proposition about architectural representation, the repetition of motifs and their simplification is one which Wagner is applying to many of his buildings (though what looks like an instance of this, the Stadtbahn development, is characterised by both repetition and variation).

The 'longer straight lines' to which we have become accustomed are partly a function of scale (as are the 'expansive surfaces' and 'larger masses'). More directly, this reflects Wagner's conception of much of the metropolis as a constellation of continuous terraces of rented apartment blocks and his commitment - following Stubben - to the straight line in street development. The new 'road' of the railway also leads to the proliferation of longer straight lines.

The 'more expansive surfaces' and 'larger masses' derive from the monumental nature of metropolitan dwelling in the continuous rows of apartment blocks (of 5 to 7 stories) and the scale and number of public monumental buildings. At the same time, like the other features which Wagner highlights here, they are all, at the same time, intimations of Wagner's architectural response to the modern metropolis.

As a summation of some of the implications of the change in perception and its implications we may take Esther da Costa Meyer's overview of Wagner's position - but with some important qualifications.

> Wagner understood that the metropolis had brought about an irreversible psychological mutation: it affected the modes of vision and therefore applied a new beholder-subject. Motorized transportation, a prerequisite of the new urban scale, entailed a swiftly moving eye with aesthetic demands of its own. It now became necessary for the human eye to take in vast panoramas at a glance, and these could no longer be made up of highly detailed buildings that demanded a more contemplative attitude. ... This new form of urban vision was no longer mediated by the sense of touch, as Jonathan Crary has shown. A world of increasing abstraction was slowly coming into being, and architecture responded by simplifying facades and diminishing the richness of ornament and symbolism.
>
> Otto Wagner was among the first to take speed into consideration in designing buildings and to tailor the aesthetic of the city to the needs of the new fast-moving subject, accommodating rapid changes in perspective and foreshortening. The car had rendered the time-honored "tactile" dimension, so important for Riegl, an anachronism. From this point on, architecture loses the richness of detail and ornament characteristic of close-range vision: henceforth the spectator's response to architectural form will be impressionistic, involving a swift scanning of the surfaces of the city without any regard for depth. The old capillary urban tissue with picturesque piazzas and meandering streets, dear to theoreticians like Camillo Sitte, was no longer possible or desirable. It was necessary to make city space intelligible to pedestrians and automobiles alike. Space and Time are no longer absolute categories, as in classical physics: the metropolis telescopes them into a new entity, Space-Time.[190]

The reference to motorized transport is not one which Wagner takes up in his 1896 statement on the modern eye. But nor is it a feature of his 1911 essay Die Grossstadt, even though there is a passing reference to 'automobile garages'.[191] In the retitled and expanded version of his modern architecture volume, Die Baukunst unserer Zeit in 1914 the preface does make disparaging reference to those who long for a metropolis with 'cosy squares and crooked streets (in the age of motor vehicles, aircraft, super-dreadnoughts, field guns with

a 16 kilometer range, armies of millions, etc.).'[192] But even in this later, expanded edition, the implications of motorized transport are confined to the railway and the street car but not the motor car. Da Costa Meyer's summary should be qualified in this respect.

There are, however, other aspects of Wagner's proposition to be considered. The first is that Wagner's contribution to rethinking experience of modern metropolitan life is largely confined to vision and perspective. The transformation of our experience of time is viewed with reference to the demands for acceleration of economic activity ('time is money'). The changes in experience of space - ostensibly the most significant changes for consideration by architects - are not directly theorized. This contrasts with Wagner's own architectural practice, which is extremely sensitive to experience of building interiors in particular.

The second aspect relates to the reality of metropolitan streets at the time when Wagner is writing. When Venturi, Brown and Izenour, in Learning From Las Vegas,[193] draw attention the mass of information provided by street hordings, traffic signs and the like, we should ask whether this was already the case at the turn of the century, if not earlier. The 'large-scale traffic arteries', the boulevard 'filled with a surging crowd with all the countless vehicles' (Wagner writing in 1894)[194] are populated not merely by crowds and traffic but also by that mass of street furniture, whose variants are so lavishly displayed in Stübben's Der Städtebau. The metropolitan eye, even on the trottoir as well as in the street car, is confronted by a myriad of objects.

Third, we should not forget the importance which Wagner gives to the architect's own display and representation of that which they are presently as sketches and plans for building projects, be they villas, rented apartment blocks, bridges, etc. An examination of Wagner's - and his students', since they often drew for him - visual representations of metropolitan life in the context of sketches and complete illustrations of his building

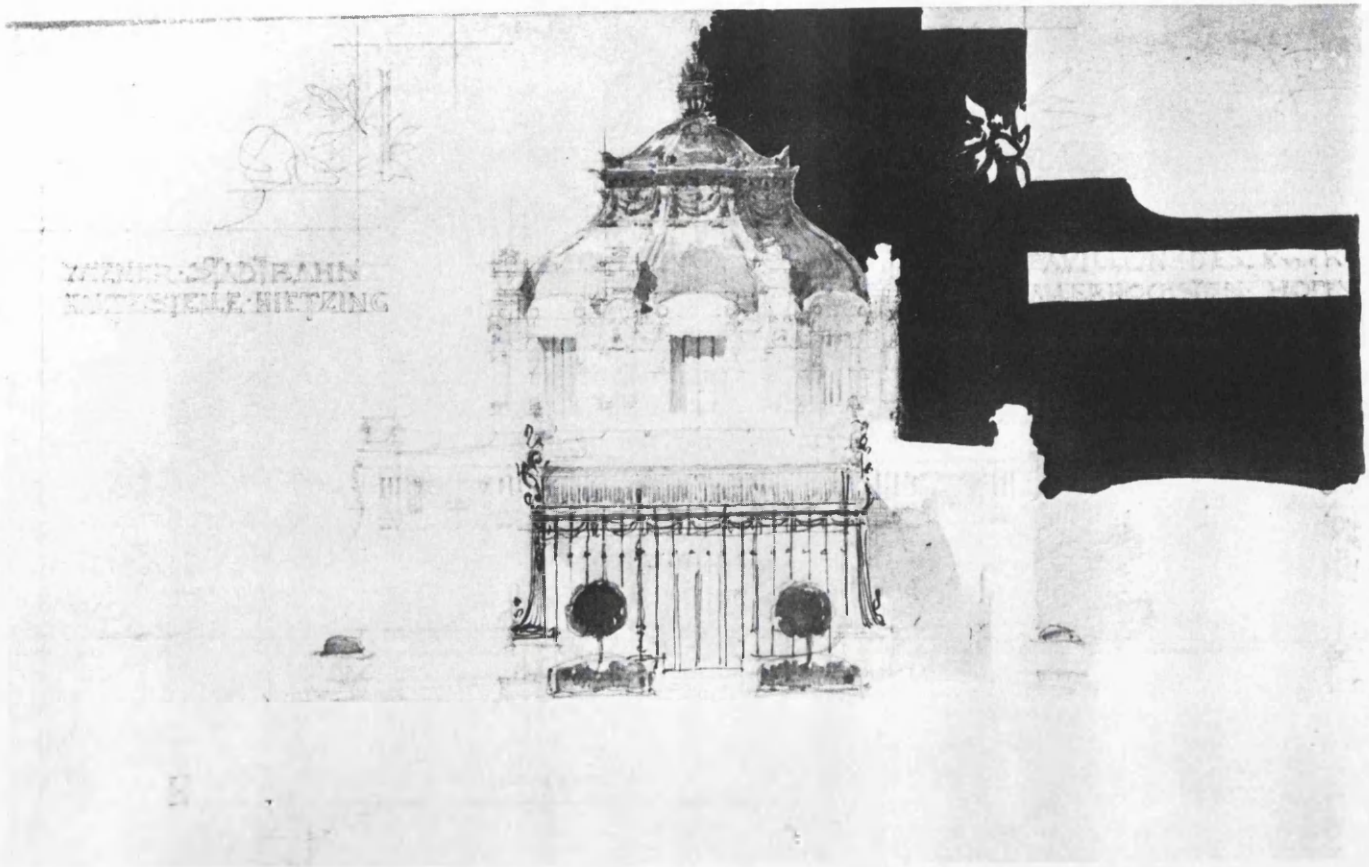
projects would go well beyond the confines of the present study. A comparison with his contemporaries such as Ohmann - probably one of the best graphic architects of the time - might reveal a more historically stylized populace in Ohmann's illustrations of his projects. One of the few commentators to have addressed the significance of Wagner's 'perspectives' in his architectural projects as 'images' of the modern metropolis is Günter Kolb[195] with respect to Wagner's submission for the regulation of the Stubenviertel in 1894 which was accompanied by four illustrations (two of them by Olbrich) and the subsequent illustrations for the city railway (I.92,93). As Kolb comments,

> To a very high degree the "perspectives" ... make concrete Wagner's image of the modern metropolis, in that the Stadtbahn as a self evident, more or less determining element is incorporated into it. Of course, they illustrate selective situations in the built city environment that nonetheless stand as exemplary for Wagner's general conceptions of a modern metropolis and therefore always represent selected buildings, streets and squares as parts of a metropolitan milieu that is being used and mostly also from the perspective of the user. As a rule, therefore, the eye level is chosen that is only slightly above that of the street pedestrian. The observer seems to move about on broad, architecturally composed arrangement of streets and squares like a passer-by and yet to experience his or her environment at a distance from the attitude of the flâneur. The unintentional nature of the effect that is emphasized rests upon the chosen vanishing point of the perspective that is always decentred and avoids of the arrangement of buildings as parallel images so that they are constituents of the open space of the street.[196]

Most of the illustrations to Wagner's projects for presentation are peopled with modern individuals in the open space of the street. Occasionally there is an illustration of the city from a distance, a bird's eye view, notably of the quay along the Danube canal between Augartenbrücke and Franzensbrücke, but again this is of populated streets with traffic. (I.94,95) In general, this is a neglected aspect of Wagner's representation of the metropolis, but one that is important.

Olbrich sketches for Hietzing and Westbahnhof stations

I.92



Wagner viaduct sketch 193

in Anspruch nehmen können. Wie soll man dann einen endgiltigen Plan zustande bringen?

Ich bin in der Lage, auf die Concurs-Ausschreibung hinzuweisen, die vor einigen Jahren in München erfolgt ist und sich auf den gleichen Gegenstand bezogen hat; eine Concurs-Ausschreibung, die damals allgemeinen Beifall gefunden hat und an der selbst Camillo Sitte nichts auszusetzen hatte, was schon etwas sagen will. In derselben hat es im § 9 geheißen: „Die preisgekrönten Pläne gehen in das freie Eigenthum der Stadtgemeinde München über. Der Stadtmagistrat erlangt das Recht der Veröffentlichung und freien Verwerthung der Pläne." Niemand hat sich darüber aufgehalten, die Herren haben concurrirt, und mit dem Erfolge dieser Ausschreibung war man allgemein zufrieden. Die Bestimmung, die jetzt bemängelt wird, war in der Ausschreibung für das Stubenviertel ebenfalls enthalten, aber jetzt erst wird sie beanständet!

Endlich muss ich darauf hinweisen, daß laut § 11 folgende Bestimmung enthalten war: „Den Preisrichtern sind auch die gesammten auf die Preis-Ausschreibung Bezug nehmenden Vorschriften und Behelfe vorgelegt worden, und haben sich dieselben in jeder Beziehung damit einverstanden erklärt."

Ich führe dies nicht an, um nach Mitschuldigen zu suchen; sachverständige Preisrichter konnten aber nicht anders handeln. In diesem Preisgerichte sind auch die Vertreter der Künstlergenossenschaft und Vertreter unseres Vereines gesessen und konnten die Herren, wie es in der Natur der Sache liegt, nach genauer Prüfung der Sachlage nicht anders vorgehen. Sie haben einstimmig der Ausschreibung ihre Zustimmung gegeben, ich war bei allen Verhandlungen zugegen und es ist in dieser Beziehung niemals eine Bemängelung gemacht worden. Ich halte es nicht für zutreffend, wenn hinterher aus Gründen, die ich nicht weiter zu untersuchen habe, die Ausschreibung bemängelt wird.

Ich bitte, man hat, um wieder auf München zurückzukommen, diese Ausschreibung als eine höchst gelungene bezeichnet. Man hat dort für die Preise 15.000 Mark bewilligt, die Stadt Wien hat dem gleichen Zweck 64.000 Gulden zur Verfügung gestellt, sie hat keine schwereren Bedingnisse hinausgegeben als München, und so ist denn, glaube ich, kein Grund vorhanden, in Bezug auf die Wiener Ausschreibung eine Bemängelung vorzubringen.

Was weiterhin die Verwerthung und was den Ausfall auf die städtischen Behörden hinsichtlich der bureaukratischen Führung betrifft, so kann ich versichern, daß sich das Stadtbauamt gar nicht herandrängt, um bei den weiteren Arbeiten die erste Rolle zu spielen, daß vielmehr vom Stadtbauamte Anträge gestellt wurden, in welchen den Künstlern bei der weiteren Bearbeitung des Regulirungsplanes das freieste Feld eingeräumt werden soll und daß die Herren in dieser Beziehung vollkommen beruhigt sein können.

* * *

Prof. **Mayreder**:

Ohne auf die persönliche Anspielung des hochverehrten Herrn Vorredners einzugehen, möchte ich mir nur erlauben, auf dessen Bemerkungen zu erwidern, daß ich in meinen Ausführungen weder die Möglichkeit voraussetzte, ein einziger Künstler werde imstande sein, ein in allen Punkten brauchbares Concurrenzproject zu schaffen, noch dafür eintrat, die Gemeinde möge mit der ganzen Schaar von concurrirenden Künstlern verhandeln. Ich sprach nur gegen die Härte des § 12 und es hat ja die Verlesung des ihm entsprechenden § 9 der Münchener Concurrenz bewiesen, daß dieser viel milder verfasst ist als jener, indem er die scharfe Verwahrung, mit irgend einem Verfasser in Unterhandlung zu treten, nicht enthält. Diese Verwahrung musste den Glauben erwecken, die Gemeinde wolle den Regulirungsplan auf Grund der gewonnenen „Ideen und Anregungen" durch das Stadtbauamt selbst aufstellen. Hiedurch wurde eine Reihe älterer Künstler von der Preisbewerbung zurückgeschreckt und so ist der Gemeinde die Wahl eines solchen erfahrenen und bedeutenden Künstlers sehr erschwert. Ich meinte dabei nicht, daß man einen Preisbewerber berufe, damit er sein Concurrenzproject unverändert zur Ausführung bringe, sondern daß er mit Hilfe des durch die Concurrenz gewonnenen Materiales einen für die Ausführung geeigneten Plan verfasse — eine Arbeit, die, wie ich erwähnte, nur eine ganz hervorragende künstlerische Individualität zu lösen im Stande ist.

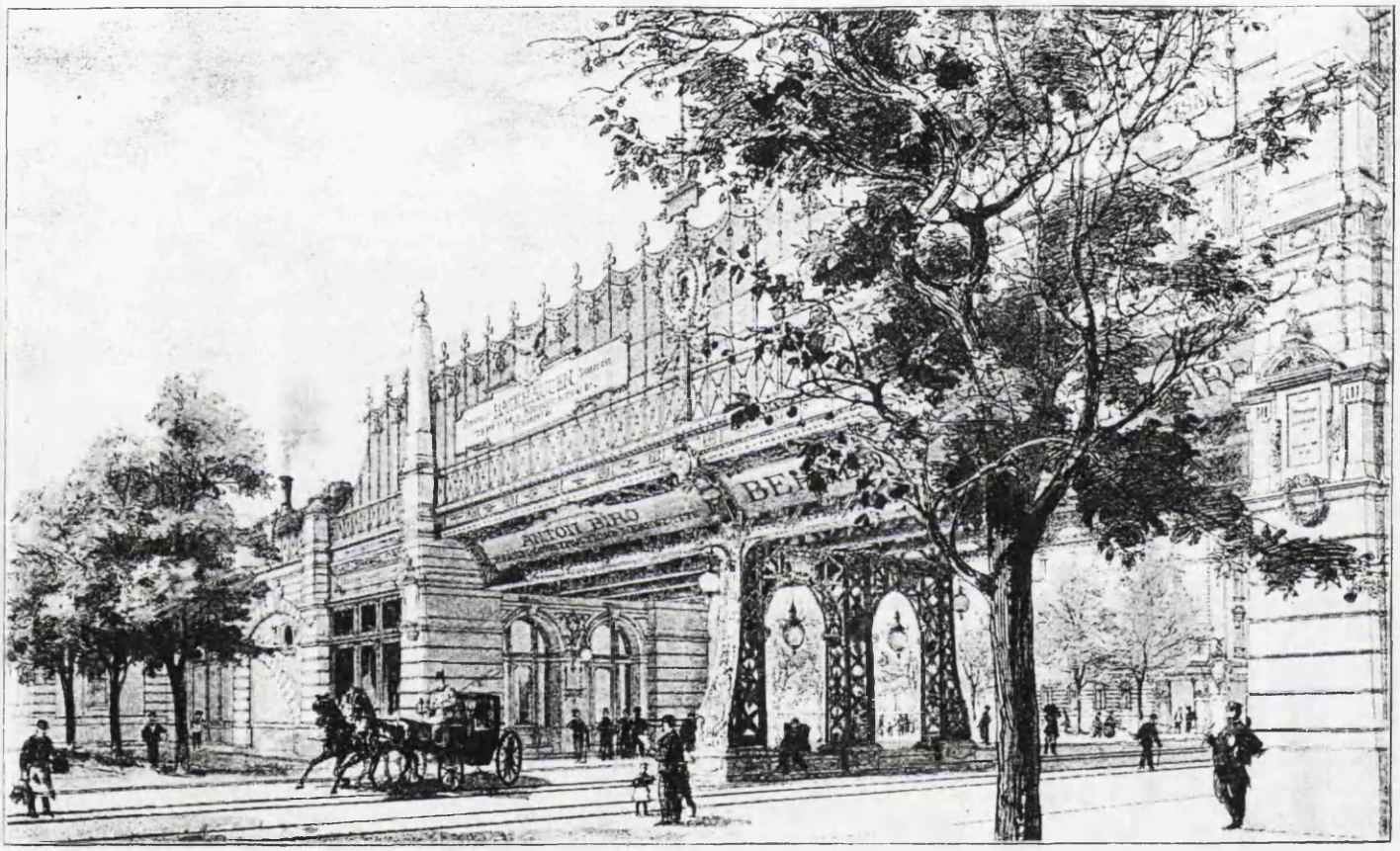


Fig. 8. Entwurf Wagner's für die architektonische Ausstattung der Stadtbahn-Viaducte.

Wagner: Bird's eye view of Danube Quay (1897)

I.94

89. KAIANLAGEN, REGULIERUNG DES STUBENVIERTELS und neue DONAUKANALBRÜCKEN (1897): letztes Blatt der Huldigungsadresse der Akademie der bildenden Künste anläßlich des fünfzigsten Regierungsjubiläums Kaiser Franz Josephs; die dekorative Umrahmung ist weggelassen. Vorne die Aspernbrücke in der Verlängerung der Ringstraße, hinten die Ferdinandsbrücke.

I.95

Original im Besitz des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien.

). VINDOBONABRÜCKE (1904) in der Verlängerung der Rotenturmstraße.

r. FERDINANDSBRÜCKE (1905): Entwurf mit teilweise über der Fahrbahn liegender Tragkonstruktion. Links eine neuentwor-ene Stadtbahnhaltestelle.

Wagner: Danube canal bridges
(1904; 1905)

The extensive discussion of the 'modern eye' can be justified on the grounds that it is a significant instance in which a connection can be made between sense experience in the modern metropolis and its aesthetic consequences. The problem of extracting the features of modern life from Wagner's texts is accentuated by the fact that there are no sources cited for such features. In many instances, it is difficult to reconstruct such features from the generalities contained in the texts. At one level, these generalities contain too much hidden meanings. This is more true of some dimensions than others. As Friedrich Achleitner has argued,

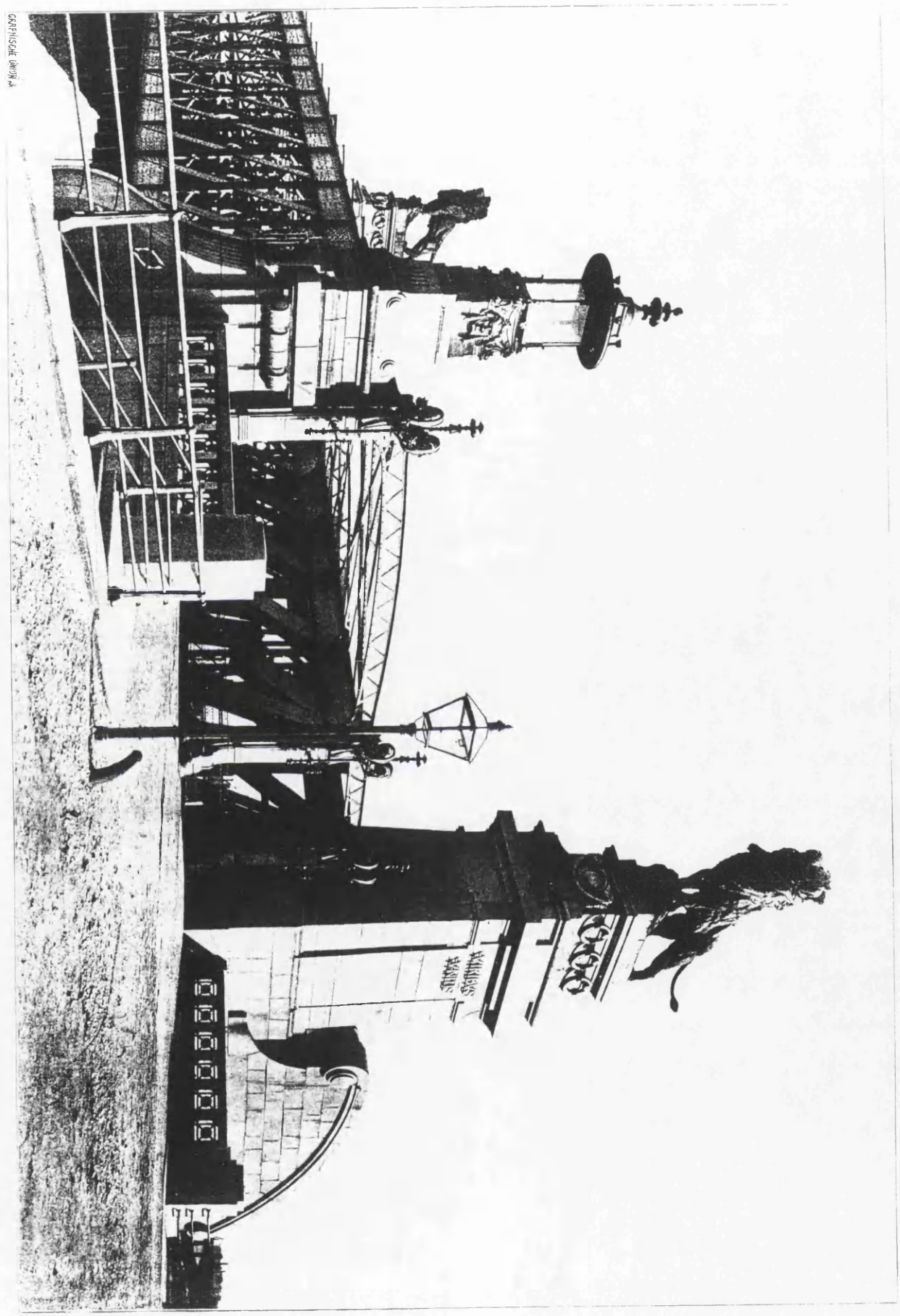
> Everything is subsumed under modern life that can be carried over from the realm of technical innovations, scientific progress but also aesthetic knowledge into architecture. In this way we can also explain why Wagner's architecture reveals revolutionary elements more in the aesthetic-technological realm than in the political-societal realm, without even mentioning the social realm.[197]

This may well be true of Wagner's architecture, though some contemporaries certainly detected social features that were viewed as revolutionary.

The utopian and naive belief in unlimited progress and the unlimited expansion of the metropolis is associated with a desire to take up technical innovations in a positive manner - unlike some of his contemporaries. The application of this new technology and new materials is a feature of some of Wagner's major structures such as the combination of glass, iron and aluminium in the Post Office Savings Bank and the aesthetic attractiveness of major technical structures such as the Nussdorf Sluice the and Danube canal water regulation structures. (I.96,97) What is relevant in this context is the significance which Wagner attaches to technical developments in facilitating the emergence of a modern architecture. In a short essay on 'Architecture' (1898),[198] Wagner describes the emergence of the modern movement, some of whose achievements were displayed in that year in the Imperial Jubilee Exhibition to celebrate fifty years of the Emperor's rule. For Wagner,

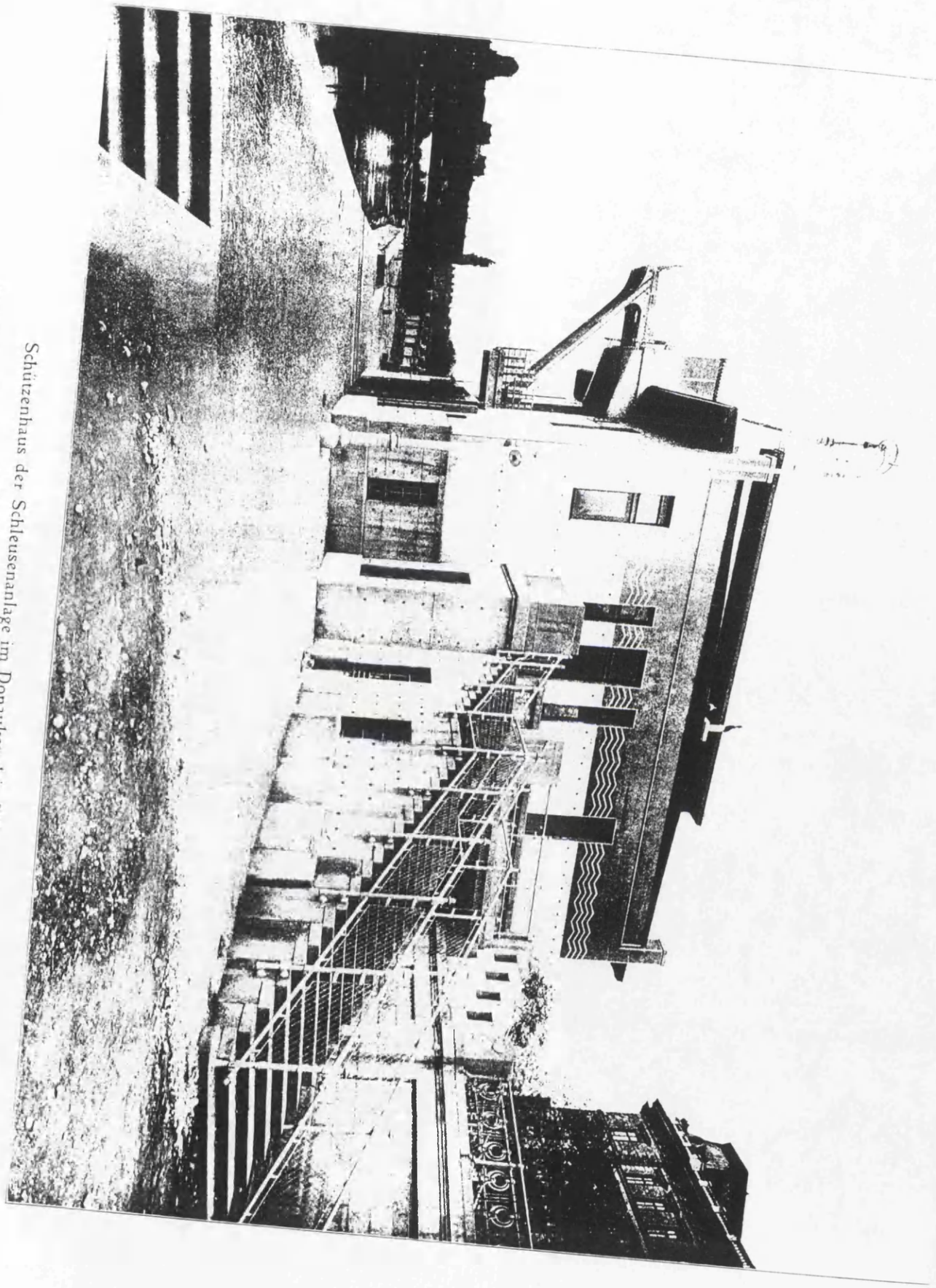
O. Wagner: Nussdorf Danube Sluice

I.96



O. Wagner: Regulation House on Danube canal

I.97



Schützenhaus der Schleusenanlage im Donaukanal in Wien.

Projektierung der Eisenkonstruktion und Bauleitung: Architekt Otto Wagner, k. k. Oberbaurat. Strombaudirektion u. Donau-Regulierungs-kommission.

> Modern viewpoints, the needs of life, the achievements of technology, supported by similar currents abroad help to prepare and finally brought to fruition that artistic revolution in which we find ourselves today.
> This upheaval had to be an explosive one for us because art, long lying dormant, abruptly obtained a place for its development through the repeated new formation of Vienna and through the Jubilee Exhibition.
> The unavoidable demands of traffic and hygiene that were pressing ones in our city gave the "modernists" the opportunity to justify themselves.[199]

For Wagner, therefore, it was the demands of modern life and the practical need for a modern metropolitan infrastructure that contributed substantially to the modernist revolution. This combination of technological achievement and urban infrastructure bring together the crucial role of the engineer and the city planner in the putative modernist revolution. Both have been critically neglected in many interpretations of the development of the modern movement.[200]

At the same time, Wagner emphasized the impact of artistic endeavours upon engineering practice (The Nussdorf Sluice and the city railway are evident examples from Wagner's own work). This is to counter what he takes to be 'the unsympathetic language' of the engineer who 'does not have regard for the emergent artistic form but rather only the calculation of stress and the expense involved'.[201] It is the task of Wagner's modern architecture to transpose this purely purposive or functional dimension into an artistic representation. As Michael Müller has argued, Wagner's conception of architecture is 'to transpose the abstract concepts of modern life through architecture into images'.[202] In this respect, his intention is 'to reflect the current technical - natural scientific and societal modernisation with architectural-immanent linguistic means and not to compensate for it, as was conceived by Sitte'. This particular interface of technology and architecture for Wagner, is to be found only in modernity. As he states it,

> The penetration of art into engineering, a stronger influence upon industry and trade, a more accurate grasp of ends and means are

> the highly pleasing results which ... emerge and demonstrate that, despite the absence of any monumental commissions, art in Austria today does not lag behind, and that it is precisely 'modernism' [die Moderne] which has conquered all terrains.[204]

As well as stressing the technical, economic and practical (end-means) dimensions of modernity that are represented in modern architecture, Wagner here also draws attention to the lack of monumentality in current architectural projects.

This should not imply that for Wagner monumentalism has no role in modernity. On the contrary, Wagner sought to give modern life and the metropolis itself a new monumental representation. In the second year of Wagner's architectural training programme, having mastered the rented apartment block, students were to concentrate on major public buildings, in effect monumental buildings. For Wagner, both the rented apartment block as a uniform series and the public building could be monumental. As Haiko points out, the fact that this interpretation is possible rests upon the meaning of the term monumental in architectural theory in the second half of the nineteenth century where the term ' "public building" and "monumental building" were used synonymously. These structures were characterised a) as monuments, memorials "that carry over the testimonial of the cultural level into posterity", and b) as such, those which "in themselves posses the character of being public [Öffentlichkeit]'.[205] Their representational value as monuments is in part created through the materials used and their symbolic value:

> The aura of specific, expensive materials should ennoble the building as well as guaranteeing its immutability. Like Historicism ... Otto Wagner also understands the monumental building as the bearer of specific ideas, as a vehicle for the documentation of political and/or cultural claims to power that are to obtain their legitimacy through the reference to history.
> [....] What is new in Otto Wagner's work is that monumentality no longer emerges merely through the deposition of a higher "meaning", or merely through the intention of allowing the building to act as the bearer of meaning to the public sphere, but rather also through uniformity. "The art of our time has ... elevated this uniformity to monumentality". [...] Just as with the monumental buildings, so also in the case of the dwelling blocks,

> the specific choice of a material with a high aura - majolica, gold, amongst others - not merely ennoble the building but also guarantees immutability and eternal permanence.[206]

Thus for Wagner, the claim to monumentality could be made for the Majolica House, for the Post Office Savings Bank and for the Church Am Steinhof. The claim can also be made for 'the aesthetic fiction of a city landscape elevated to serialised monumentality'[207] (Müller) in Wagner's vision for the twenty second district of Vienna in Die Grossstadt, where building blocks are repeated (with variations) in a grid system. (I.98,99)

Monumentalism's search for guarantees of 'immutability and eternal permanence' here recall one dimension of Baudelaire's 'definition' of modernity as 'the transitory, the fleeting, the fortuitous, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable'. For Baudelaire, it was the task of the painter, the representer of modern life to capture the eternal and the immutable in the transitory, fleeting and fortuitous elements of modernity itself. It has been suggested by Achleitner, however, and without referring to Baudelaire, that Wagner was not seeking to elevate the transitory and fleeting elements of modern life into the eternal and the immutable. Rather,

> Wagner reacted .. in a more general, valid form within a complex system and with typological means to the fortuitous elements [Zufälligkeiten] of a city culture and its history and rejected reacting merely punctually, individually and thus fortuitously and thematically. Hence Wagner maintained more a traditionalist, universal and classical understanding of architecture. Everything fragmentary, open, indefinite and questioning or even problematising was alien to him. Of course, associated with this was a formal or stylistic absolutism that could only distance itself cynically from the relativizing, psychologizing or literary transpositions in the Viennese climate.[208]

Such an interpretation certainly seems to accord with Wagner's stand on monumentalism. But it seriously downplays Wagner's crucial, and contested, role - apparent in the Majolica house which Haiko views as monumental - of that most transitory and fleeting element of metropolitan life - fashion. For Wagner insists in his Moderne Architektur upon a 'hitherto

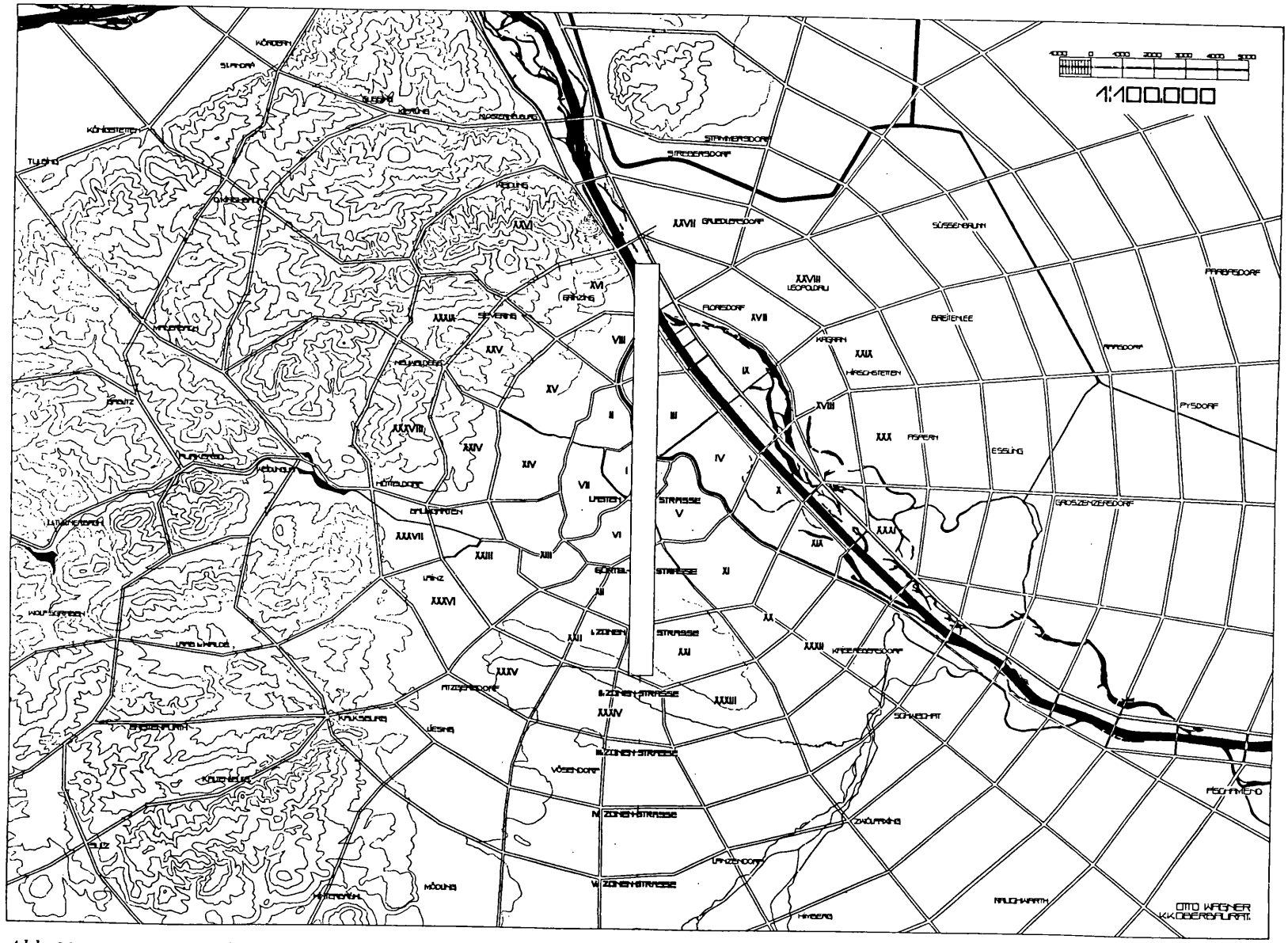
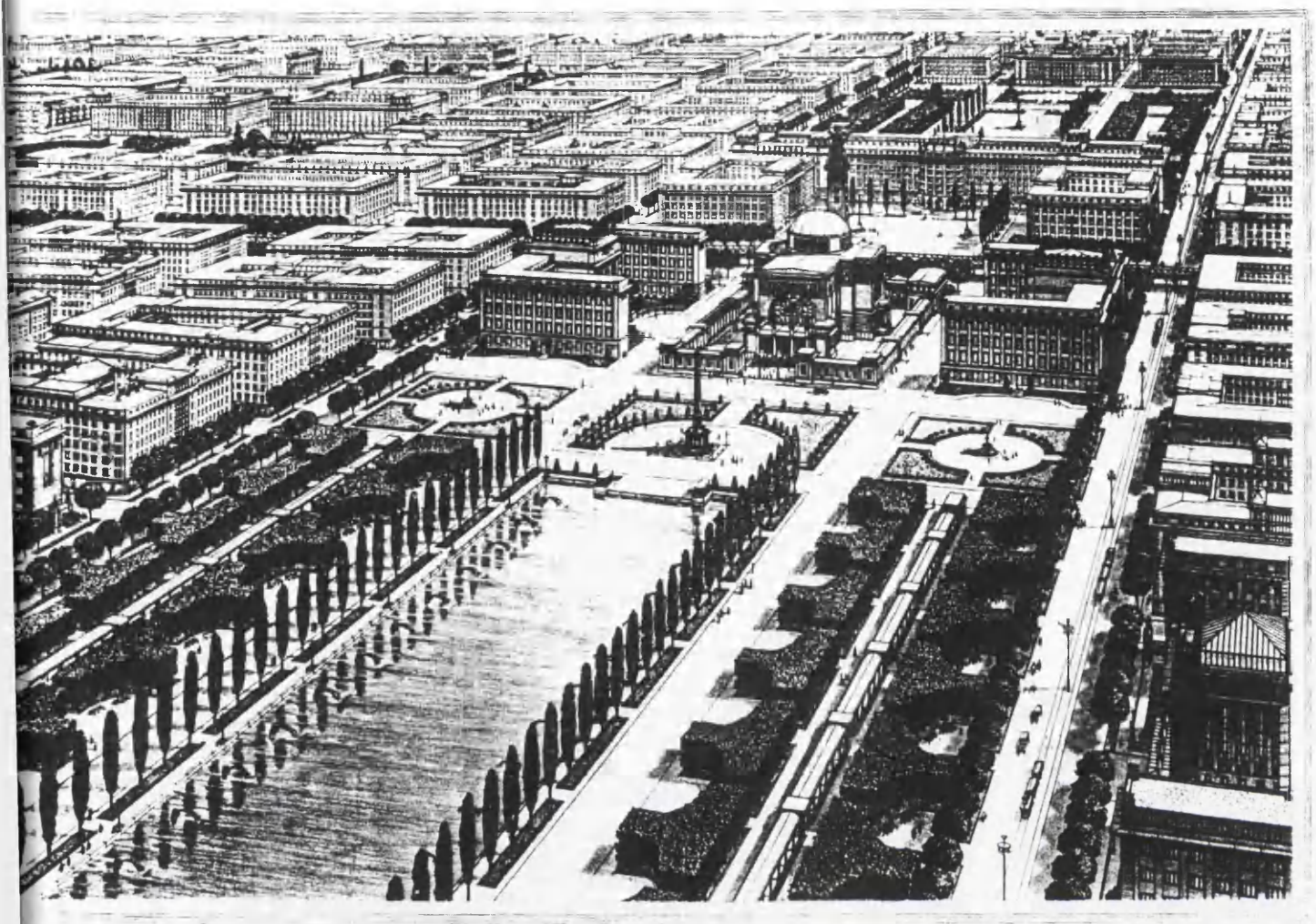


Abb. 882, 159 *Die Großstadt, Plan für Wien*

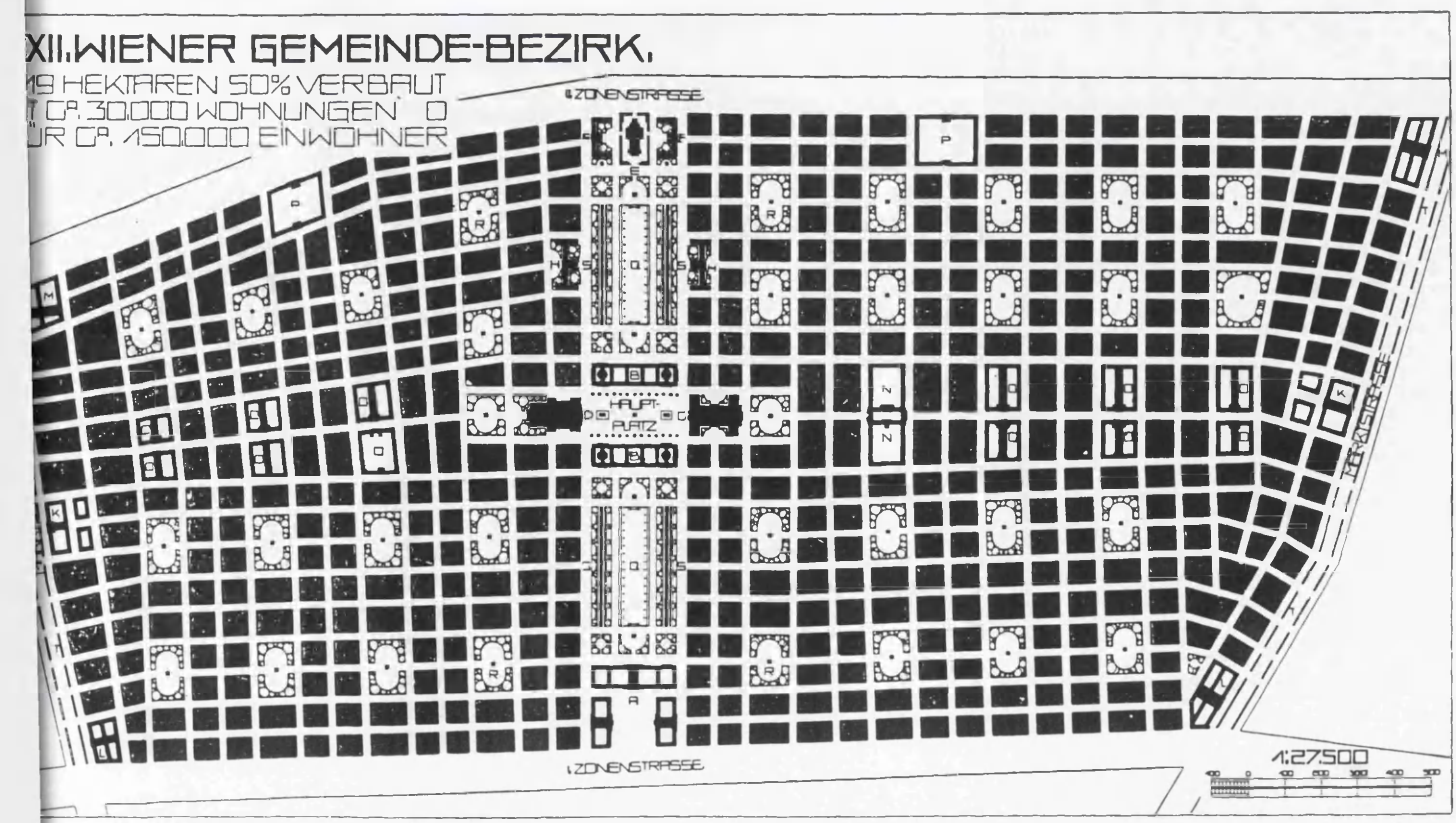
I.98

Vienna as Expanding City(1911)



. 883, 159, 1 *Zentrum des XXII. Bezirkes, Vogelschau*

. 884, 159 *Plan des XXII. Bezirkes*

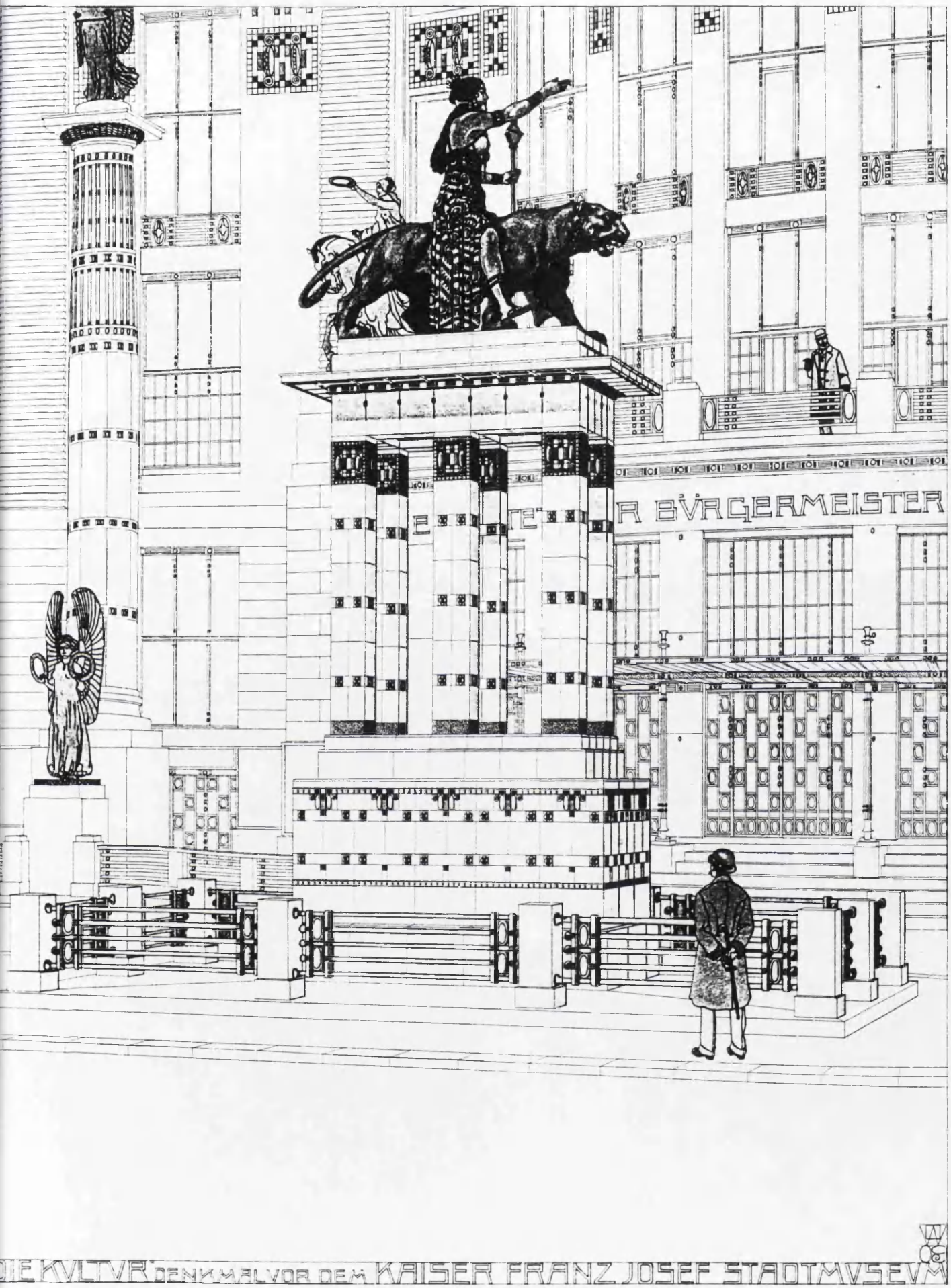


ignored inner connection between taste, fashion and style'. It is style which is the 'rigidified' [erstarrten] dimension and fashion which captures the spirit of the times as it were, with its rapid transformation. In turn, it is modern architecture which must represent our modernity in its forms.

Yet if we return to monumentalism for the moment, there are two aspects of its contemporary historical context that should be taken into account here. The first is to understand why, for Wagner, there are too few possibilities for the monumental in the 1890s. And here we must return also to the political context of architecture. When Haiko maintains that Wagner took one important dimension of the monumental structure to be 'the bearer of specific ideas, .. a vehicle for the documentation of political and/or cultural claims to power' then, if this is true, there is a basic problem for Wagner in the 1890s and later. By 1890, with the exception of the Stubenviertel, the Ringstrasse development as the most dramatic constellation of monuments, and perhaps itself as a collective monument taken as a whole, was complete. The publication of Wagner's Moderne Architektur in 1896 coincides with the political victories of the Christian Social Party in Vienna under Karl Lueger. The massive collapse of the Liberal Party and, more menacingly, of political liberalism, created a new political context within which architects, amongst others, had to operate. The new victorious Christian Social Party 'had no opportunity to create a second Ringstrasse and thus to emulate the Liberal Party's strategy in the 1870's and 1880's ... [Indeed] the few attempts of the Christian Socials to sponsor large, representational structures ended up producing heated conflicts in which the divergencies of taste and aesthetic sensibility among various party leaders were set before an amused public'.[209] As Boyer goes on to note, although Wagner secured reluctant agreement for his Steinhof project in 1903, 'no consensus could be found in the City Council for any of Wagner's several designs for a monumental city museum'[210] (the heated conflicts around which have

been extensively covered by Haiko).[211] Similarly, Karl Lueger personally supported Wagner's 1902 Karlsplatz project but was opposed in the City Council and more widely. Boyer's apposite comment on this is that 'in their divided sympathies about modernist architecture Christian Social politicians simply reaffirmed the extraordinary difficulty of assigning fixed and consistent co-ordinates to "traditional" and "modern" in Vienna after 1900'. Where the new 'political and/or cultural claims to power' were represented was in fact in 'more dynamic and utilitarian forms of symbolic representation - street railways and electrical works [and] ... the "garden belt" around the city'.[212] In terms of public monuments in this context, Wagner's city railway (although commenced prior to the Christian Social victory) is a good instance of a municipal socialist project. However, as we have seen, Wagner and most his students did not concern themselves with other public utility or production units. The much applauded municipal electrical works constructed in 1901-2 was not a Wagner project. In this respect, Wagner's problem lay in seeking the culturally prestigious monumental (I.100) in the context in which the opposition to the modernist movement had become stronger and the political context had dramatically changed.

A second historical aspect worth noting here, indeed a feature of modern life which Wagner identifies, is the democratic nature of modernity. Yet it is not the symbols of a democratic society that specifically concern Wagner, suggesting that the democratic tendency for him is a further dimension of formal participation and levelling in modern society. What is true is that Wagner spent considerable time seeking support from Lueger and the Christian Socials (including designing a mayorial chair for Lueger in 1904) for his projects, in a context in which Lueger was strengthening his own political support with openly anti-Semitic ideology. Wagner's emphasis upon uniformity as a source for a new monumentalism has its counterpart in his (and the Secession's) rejection of both a universal



O. Wagner: Monument to Culture in front of City Museum dedicated to Lueger (1909) (Not built)

civilizing language of Historicism and the localising tendencies of calls for a national style. In 1915, during the First World War, Wagner continued to oppose the notion of a national style as an impossibility (the tensions within the Empire would have made a Deutsch-national style problematical) and even suggested as a war monument a smooth canon shell (transnational and technically modern).[213]

There is, finally, a feature of modernity and modern life which preoccupies Wagner throughout his period of assertion of a new modern architecture, namely the expanding metropolis itself. Like the other features of modern life which Wagner highlights, the modern metropolis is dealt with in general terms in his most fully developed monograph Die Großstadt (1911).[214] There, Wagner claims that his observations do not refer to 'a specific city but to metropolitan cities as such', even though much of what he has to say is repeated from his 1894 submission for the Regulation of Vienna competition and Moderne Architektur from 1896. The three illustrations to this essay (two plans and one illustration of a projected XXII district of Vienna) are all of Vienna, and the only city discussed in the text is Vienna.

It is the task of the architect to respond to the needs of the modern metropolis: 'art.. has to adapt to the image of the city of present day humanity'. In turn it is 'the "physiognomy of the city" [which] has the greatest influence upon the image of the city'.[215] What Wagner therefore already postulates is the role of art, of the architect in creating a beautiful and expanding city. Fulfilling the needs, the purpose [Zweck] of the city means for Wagner that it 'can only be totally fulfilled when the metropolis is also beautiful which, however, is only to be achieved through art'.[216] In this respect at least, Wagner, like Baudelaire before him, is going in search of the beauty of our modern cities - a theme articulated more poetically at the same time by August Endell in his Die Schönheit der grossen Stadt.[217] Wagner's metropolis emphasises 'the modern, broad street', avoiding

'deliberate, unmotivated curved streets, uneven solutions to streets and squares'. In this context, is Vienna itself 'a beautiful metropolis'? For Wagner, this goal has yet to be achieved since,

> in the last 60 years, despite the presence of favourable preconditions, no metropolitan image at a high artistic level emerged other than Semper's outer Burgplatz ... and the by no means faultless Schwarzenbergplatz (the squares before the town hall and the Votivkirche can be characterised as failures), whilst the Ringstrasse exists thanks to a happy coincidence.[218]

It falls to art and architecture to render the metropolis attractive, to create the beauty of 'the physiognomy of the city', to make 'the first impression as pleasing as possible'.

What is remarkable about this aspect of Wagner's characterisation of the modern metropolis is that it is directed not merely towards its inhabitants but also to its visitors, to those who migrate to the city, to its tourists. The metropolis is not merely a site of economic and political activity, nor merely a conglomeration o f dwellings and other built structures. It is also a spectacle, the first impressions of which Wagner judges to be crucial. If the artistic quality of the physiognomy of the city can be assured then both the urban dweller and the stranger [der Fremde], as visitor will be 'better disposed and less moved by hypocritical artistic pretence in setting out on the "martyr's path" to the existing beauties and to the artistic memory warehouses [Kunstspeichern - Wagner is ironically referring here to art museums: D.F.] of the city'.[219]

There is a problem with the first impression of the metropolis - and not merely that it depends upon the life of the city itself. The first impression is

> dependent on the "mimicry" of the metropolitan physiognomy, in this case the pulsating life in the image of the city. Here it must be emphasized, as far as the first impression of a city is concerned that the general public and including visitors, in their great majority - and this is what is at issue here - lack an understanding of arts.[220]

For this reason, Wagner suggests that art (and architecture) should be active where it can create a favourable impression. In contrast to the dominant high culture, the relevant areas for this enterprise are quite mundane. Art must be located in modern life itself. Thus, for Wagner, 'industry, trade, fashion, taste, comfort, luxury, etc. are in fact means for the expression of art'.[221]

It is therefore the task of the artist and architect to invest their efforts in these areas in order to create a favourable impression of the metropolis to 'the artistically indifferent general public'. If successful, this will be manifested in the streets (and squares) of the metropolis, in

> The uninterrupted chain of a main thoroughfare adorned with attractive stores (from which artistic products of the country and the city beckon) through which the crowd rushes in haste; other streets that make themselves ideal for sauntering along and satisfying the strollers' reciprocal stare, as well as testing luxuries to the extent of one's purse, a sufficient number of pleasant and good restaurants that bring bodily satisfaction and repose, squares upon which buildings or monuments of a high artistic standard afford themselves to the surprise of the onlooker, and many other things too numerous to mention. These are the main features which give to the city its captivating physiognomy. To these one can add the best means of transport, faultless street cleaning, accommodation providing every comfort and appropriate to every social level.[222]

This image of the city (with the possible exception of accommodation and monuments) is one of facilitating and encouraging the circulation of individuals and commodities. The areas in which the artist/architect should concentrate (industry, trade, fashion, etc.) are also those which are connected with the circulation process. Furthermore, the implication of Wagner's argument is that this is an image of modernity, a part of the modern physiognomy of the city that must be developed in order that the general public is able to appreciate modernity itself in the public sphere of the streets and squares.

Such an image of the city as satisfying our needs is also - albeit somewhat restricted - a social one of individuals interacting with one another, even if only through staring at one another. It is, further, a visual rather than a spatial conception of the city. There is, however, another and different dimension of the experience of the metropolis to which Wagner draws our attention, namely our 'general mode of dwelling'. This aspect of the physiognomy of the modern metropolis does possess significant spatial dimensions. Wagner ascribes 'the uniformity of our dwelling blocks' to 'our democratic essence' and the call for 'cheap and healthy dwellings' whose individual elements possess the same cubic content and the same floor plan'.[223] Wagner decisively rejects 'the longed for individual dwelling in the still longed for garden city' as unable to satisfy the needs and the 'constant change in desires of a population of millions'. The fact that the individual dwelling 'will not disappear from the image of the city is self evident; it will, however, owe its emergence to the wishes of the upper ten thousand'. For the rest, the rented apartment block will provide 'healthy, attractive, comfortable and cheap'[224] accommodation. Any other presupposition for mass dwelling is inappropriate:

> The recourse to tradition, the heart, picturesque appearance, etc., as the foundation for the dwellings of modern people is simply absurd in the light of our present day experience. The number of metropolitan inhabitants who prefer to disappear into the crowd as a "number" is significantly greater than the number of those who wish to hear a "good morning" or "how did you sleep" from their carping neighbours in individual dwellings.[225]

This anonymous mode of dwelling (which Simmel argued provides greater individual freedom in the metropolis) does not exclude future developments such as 'the mobile house' or 'the assemblable houses' on public land. However, this aspect of metropolitan physiognomy highlights the anonymous retreat into the <u>private</u> sphere, a preference for <u>distance</u> from immediate others, a mode of dwelling that presupposes <u>mass</u> housing.

Mass housing on public land is only one instance, however, in which the political economy of the metropolis is crucial. For Wagner, the city as local state - though he does not use this concept - in co-operation with architects can counter the present threats to the autonomy of the big cities in their efforts to improve their physiognomy: 'allow art and artists to have their say in order to break once and for all the beauty - negating influence of the engineer and to reduce to a minimum the power of the vampire "speculation", which nowadays almost renders the autonomy of the metropolitan cities illusory'.[226] As a counter to the latter tendency, Wagner proposes the intervention of the city administration itself into the acquisition of public utilities (and praises Lueger for taking over public control of gas and electricity plants, reservoir water supply, tramways, and burials) or, by making an economic virtue of the expanding metropolis, and purchasing undeveloped land on the outskirts and subsequently leasing it as the city expands and land values rise. Public intervention in the regulation of the city could be facilitated by an expropriation law (for condemned properties) and the creation of a city heritage or reserve fund. The local state could use its funds to further both the expansion of the city and the improvement of existing city districts. Alongside improvements in 'administration, traffic systems, hygiene and art', funds would be available for 'community clubs, people's dwelling houses, municipal sanatoriums, structures for trade fairs and warehouses, promenades [Wandelbahnen], monuments, fountains, observatories, museums, theatres, water barrages, valhalla, etc.'[227] This eclectic assembly of building types, to which Wagner adds structures not yet conceived of, reveals the transitory nature of conceptions of modernity itself. Eight of the building types mentioned relate to the leisure sphere, to display, to a historically specific conception of what contributes to the attraction of the metropolis.

At all events, the political intervention of the local state authority and the extent of its powers, was to preoccupy leading figures in the post First World War period. Their

conception of the expanding metropolis dealt specifically with the political economy of public housing. As Tafuri has shown, the manner in which this was undertaken, and the architectural outcomes too, was very different in Vienna compared with Berlin.[228] For some, such as Martin Wagner in Berlin, the issue of socialised housing was intimately connected with the process of rationalisation. For Otto Wagner this increasing role of the local state was in no way associated - as was the case with his namesake Martin Wagner and many others in the 1920's and 1930's - with a conception of the socialist city. A belief in social paternalism (as a supporter of Karl Lueger's politics) would be more appropriate in Otto Wagner's case.

VII

If we return now to the features of modern life which Wagner highlights in his various texts and enquire as to their common features, then one factor stands out. It has been argued that Wagner reveals only general features of modern life. These general features are expressed more specifically perhaps in his architectural projects. But the features themselves possess one common characteristic. The expanding metropolis, progress, technology, money, the rented apartment block, fashion, democracy, the levelling process, the monument, the change in visual perception of the city are all features of modern life that could well be added to and further nuanced as to their specific characteristics. But they all have one feature in common - none of them is specific to Vienna.

When Wagner declares that 'the sole starting point of our artistic endeavours should be modern life' and that architecture should be a mirror of modern life, then one of the crucial issues is surely what are the features of this modern life. What is not at issue here directly is Wagner's actual reflection of modern life <u>in</u> his architecture. In his detailed

discussion of some of his special architectural projects there is evidence of a kind of architectural ethnography with respect to site, building type and purpose. In the case of his presentation of features of modern life in more general texts such as Moderne Architektur or Die Grossstadt, these are all of a general and often universal nature with respect to modernity. This should not imply, necessarily, that such features of modernity as Wagner identifies - opposed as he is to the fragmentary and incomplete, which might tie themselves to the genius loci - exclude him from producing a modern architecture that is related to specific tendencies in Vienna. Rather, with reference to Wagner's texts on modernity, architecture and the modern metropolis, the only feature that reveals Viennese characteristics lies in the texts themselves, in that their mode of expression makes frequent use of Viennese German terms.

Why is the fact that the features of modernity are general and not specific or peculiar to Vienna a problem? What does it tell us of the relationship between modernity and Vienna in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? One of the ways in which the issue of modernity can be approached is clearly to seek to understand what modernity as concept and mode of experience means for those supporting its aesthetic representation in modernisms. In this context, it is fruitful to investigate how contemporary critics responded to modernity as transformation of modes of experiencing that which is new in modern society and to its aesthetic representations. At various stages in the present investigation an attempt was made not merely to outline the critiques of modernity within architectural discourse, in the discourse on city planning and with reference to Wagner's Moderne Architektur volume, but also to examine the reaction to modernity in contemporary Vienna as a process, movement, etc. that should be opposed. And here there are a number of dimension that are specific to Vienna and to its location as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

This extensive land empire, the largest outwith Russia in Europe, had experienced a relatively late transition to a capitalist economic formation. In many respects, the traces of earlier precapitalist forms associated with feudalism remained particularly strong in an empire still predominantly agrarian and with a still powerful aristocracy and landed society. There was also a considerable impetus for the bourgeoisie in such a society to seek to incorporate themselves into a ranked, estate hierarchy not merely through gentrification in its economic and social aspects but through the purchase of titles, effectively an aristocratisation of the bourgeoisie. This widespread process of Veradelung often carried with it a commitment to a status conscious high culture, a commitment to church and state. In passing, though we will return to this point, architecture clearly belonged to this high culture.

Although the process of capitalist development and modernisation varied in European and other societies, when confronted with precapitalist formations it seriously transformed or destroyed them. The 'traces' of precapitalist formations remained evident in the Austro-Hungarian empire. But if there was a complex vertical stratification of the empire and its cities, and social class differentiation confronting status or rank differentiation, there was too an equally complex horizontal integration and stratification of ethnicity, language, religion and culture. An empire with over a dozen different nationalities each with their own language and traditions presented specific problems associated with internal colonialism, mass migrations (to Vienna in particular, at various historical junctures) and, more general, integration as 'imagined community' within the 'K. und K. Reich'. The problems of horizontal integration were often reflected upon, not least in Ludwig Wittgenstein's reflections on the nature of language and linguistic communication.[229] In his later philosophy, the rootedness of language (and language games) in forms of life was explored in which the language game consists of boundaries

and a set of rules that are public in nature (there being no private language). If translated into the discourse on architecture, the language of forms [Formensprache] - to which many of the participants, including Wagner, in the modernity debate referred - has its roots ultimately in forms of life [Lebensformen]. Although they cannot be explored here, the issue of the language of forms in architectural discourse would have to address the nature of the rules of this language, the nature of its boundaries (when does rule-following cease?), the nature of the public able to play or communicate in this language and whether there are special problems concerning the intelligibility of architecture's language of forms. What is evident here is that the integration of forms of language and forms of life was highly problematical in the Austro-Hungarian empire. In the context of Wagner's work the free Renaissance stylistic 'language' enabled him to appear to bridge a range of styles, though not as successfully - in appearance, at least - as Historicism. More effective in this respect was Wagner's development of a Nutzstil (Wittgenstein's claim that the meaning of a term is the use made of it is relevant here) and a broader commitment to a new style, the modern style. Although the notion of a transcendental language game above all language games is impossible, Wagner does assume that the generalities of modernity constitute a form of life that is general and capable of universalisation. Modernity as a supra-life-form, however, confronts the differentiating tendencies of nation, language, class, status, ethnicity and gender.

If there is a problem of integration in the Austro-Hungarian empire which, in a mediated manner, contemporary architectural discourse was forced to confront, what was the specific problem in the Viennese context? In general it is that modernity is confronting tradition, capitalist modernity is confronting precapitalist forms of domination, modern monumentality is not respecting the state and church, modern society is confronting a traditional high culture and New Vienna is confronting Old Vienna[230] (with some

exceptions, such as Schönbrunn, Old Vienna architecturally is largely identified in debates on its preservation as confined to the first city district and immediate surrounding area).

In order to grasp more fully what is at issue here it is necessary to examine what is specific to Vienna in the context of Old and New Vienna, the historical development of which was investigated earlier. Writing in 1907, Werner Sombart explored this specific question from a Berlin perspective. Crucially, he argues,

> One can condense the judgment concerning Vienna into a single word: Vienna has culture. I do not even say "old". Culture as such. Or if one wishes to add an epithet to the word then: artistic culture.[231]

This artistic culture is located in its composers, its fine old architecture, and so on. It is Old Vienna - ' "Vienna does not advance". One should not reply to this: it does. But rather: unfortunately - and much too much!'[232] Sombart sees Vienna threatened by progress, by those who wish to make it efficient and, above all, modern. Sombart refers neither to modern architecture nor Wagner but his contrast with Berlin and its modernity is illuminating:

> Do the Viennese wish to invest their greatest pride in being "Berlin-American"? To have traffic? A "nightlife"? To be "efficient"? It will never be possible for them to totally achieve these things. For the old cultural tradition [Kulturboden] remains intact for them. And to advance totally into "modernity" [Modernität], in order to be absolutely enthusiastic about the fact that 6000 people can eat in a single restaurant, that every two minutes a city railway train departs: For this one has to be absolutely devoid of all tradition, all culture, all quality, like the - New Yorker.
>
> What is Vienna for us? For we who live in the desert of modern technical culture?! [...] Vienna is for us - to speak in a Kantian manner - the regulative cultural idea. If we wish to know what culture is then we orientate ourselves towards Vienna and the Vienna way. In Vienna we gain strength again when we are filled with disgust at modern human development.[233]

However ironical Sombart might sound, his identification of Vienna with culture (and it is largely a high culture) and cultural tradition is precisely that which opponents of its modernisms sought to defend.

All Wagner's characteristic features of modern life - including the modern city with its 'traffic', sewage system, etc. - are not specific to Vienna. His vision of modernity, however untheoretical and unsystematic, was viewed by many a threat to Viennese culture. The levelling processes that Wagner identifies in modern life are anathema to those whose commitment to established high culture requires a status differentiation grounded in tradition. This high culture largely identifies with Old Vienna, with the preservation of culture. How intense this activity of preservation could be is indicated by a letter from Fürstin Pauline Metternich to Seligmann in 1909 praising him for his attack on Wagner's city museum project:

> I thank God that this terrible Otto Wagner is once more sent packing [abgeblitzt] but fear that he will rise again since he is a favourite of Lueger. Of course your article against Otto Wagner is a masterwork! It has greatly impressed me, greatly pleased me and made me happy. This arrogant, tasteless cad has deserved nothing better than that A.F.S. chop him into pieces.[234]

More theoretically grounded criticism and equally outraged rhetoric surrounded the debate on the city museum and the regulation of the Karlskirche area and culminated, according to Haiko, in the failure of modernism in Vienna.[235] Wagner's judgment in the late 1890's that modernism had achieved victory over its opposition was most premature.

CONCLUSION

Contradictory Modernity

CONCLUSION

Contradictory Modernity

A labyrinth of alleys and small squares, of old and new houses, in more recent times enlarged dwellings, the whole surrounded by countless suburbs with straight lined streets on which uniform houses stand.

Ludwig Wittgenstein on language

TO CIRCULATE

It is an important modern word. In architecture and city planning, circulation is everything.

Le Corbusier, Precisions (1930)

... your reference to the ... eruptive nature of Viennese modernity. I wished to express the same with the words revolutionary tendency. Thereby also connected with this is the actual headstart that you ascribe to Viennese modernity compared with other modern strivings [...]
... your perfectly true statement that "the present generation of architects suffers from having no monumental tasks". And the assurance is thus in no way necessary that this generation also grew up with monumental tasks. The monumental trait is indeed the most noble feature of your school!

von Feldegg to Wagner 27.11.1900

I

The present study has sought to contextualise three dimension of Wagner's writings largely in the period up to 1900. First, Wagner's conception of modernity has been located in the broader historical context of the discourse on a modern style in architecture journals in Vienna in the late nineteenth century and the debate surrounding the concept of modernity in the 1890's in Vienna. Second, his claim that the most modern aspect of modernity is the modern metropolis has been approached through examining the development of Vienna into a modern metropolis in the second half of the nineteenth century and, more specifically, in the attention given to the 'new' discipline of city planning

(Städtebau) in Vienna and in the broader German context. Third, his claim that a modern architecture must reflect modern life and its needs was investigated through both a detailed examination of the critical response to Wagner's Moderne Architektur in particular and through extracting from this and other writings his delineation of the major features of modern life. The specificity of these features of modern life was examined in part in the context of the opposition to Wagner's conception of modernity in Vienna.

The conclusion drawn from Wagner's delineation of the features of modernity was that none of them was specific to Vienna, and therefore likely to produce opposition from a high culture that was firmly rooted in the local context of the city. The contrast between Old and New Vienna and the literary, artistic, and architectural and ideological dimension of this opposition were already present in Vienna at least since the post-1857 extension of the city, but became much sharper in the 1890's after the second extension of the city in 1890 and especially after the foundation of the Secession movement in the late 1890s, symbolised by Olbrich's Secession building (1898). It was this dramatic tension between the old city and its historical traditions (in architecture and other arts) and the new city and the claims to reflect modern life which contributed to the distinctive nature of Viennese modernism and reaction to it. As Sombart later indicated, Vienna was not yet Berlin and as far as he was concerned, should not become more similar to Berlin. Many contemporaries viewed Berlin as a new, modern city (with justification since its dramatic and massive expansion only took off after German Unification in 1871), and in large part unencumbered with a powerful historical cultural tradition in architecture that could compete with that of Vienna (and its substantial Renaissance and Baroque architectural inheritance). For its part, this meant that the modern dimensions in Vienna's architecture were embedded in or imposed upon a major historical inheritance. The nature of this embeddedness is well expressed by Tietze in a comparison of Berlin with Vienna:

> Berlin is instinctively drawn to what is new, desirous of change, always prepared to go along with the new, whereas Vienna's immediate feeling is to remain with the old and thus to abide with the old; Berlin's danger is snobbism, that of Vienna philistinism. Even as metropolis [Grossstadt], Vienna remains what it had been as a small city [Kleinstadt].
>
> The metropolis as small city means having a stronger bonded essence to what has been naturally given. For in the essence of the metropolitan trait lies a propensity for the abstract which robs concrete preconditions of their value; the metropolis as theoretical formation has something of an end in itself [Selbstzweckliches] and something autocratic about it, it creates its terrain according to its needs and, with its large scale activity stamps the human beings that live in it with a common physiognomy ... If this is the essence of the metropolis ... then its contrast with Vienna is evident; for, more than any other city of a similar size, the latter remains naturally grown together [Naturverwachsen] and historically conditioned.[1]

Tietze concludes that Vienna creates the impression of 'a natural city'. However, of specific importance to Wagner's conception of modern life and the attempt to establish a modern architecture in Vienna, is the 'propensity to abstraction' in modernity, robbing existing cultural traditions of their value. The contrasts between the modern and the abstract and the traditional and the historical are ones which lay at the heart of the confrontation of Wagner and Stübben with Sitte and Henrici with respect to city planning. A culture rooted in tradition does not respond well to having its 'concrete preconditions' devalued or relativised, but such a response does illuminate the nature of some of the opposition to Wagner's manifesto for modernity and to some of his architecture. To make the contrast more pointed, it is not, as Sombart argued, that Vienna should not be Berlin but rather as Tietze maintains that Vienna is not Berlin.

However, the substantive identification of modernity with abstraction is only one facet of Wagner's delineation of modern life. The mode of presentation itself has also been viewed as abstract by Tafuri and others. Tafuri, for example, with some justification, maintains that

> Wagner's words about the form of the modern are utterly ingenuous: the straight line, flat surfaces, functions, materials, metropolitan uniformity constitute items in a piecemeal and unenlightening list from which all significance is excluded and which does not contribute to any synthetic design.[2]

All this may be true, but must be viewed in the context of Wagner's text itself, namely, as most probably a reworking of his lectures to the first cohorts of students and with no claim to be a theoretical work on modern architecture. As a manifesto - and contemporaries such as Streiter viewed it as such - it posseses that lack of coherence which was to characterise many subsequent ones. For Tafuri, this is its major weakness:

> It is this abnegation of the conclusive word - both of that of eclectical scepticism as well as that of the Avant-Garde - that involves Wagner in a piecemeal and elementary listing of the features of the "modern". It is only the surfaces of the modern that are describable for him - and only vaguely at that.[3]

What such a judgment overlooks is first, the resonance of Wagner's manifesto within the architectural community. The statements by many of his students, as members of the 'Wagner School', testify to their sense of belonging to an avant garde movement that was articulated, however incoherently, in Wagner's text. Second, the reduction of Wagner's contribution to 'only the surfaces of the modern' surely ignores a wealth of interpretation and experience of modernity as precisely the surface and nothing else. The everyday 'surface' experience of modernity may well serve to hide significant modes of differentiation - an interpretation that is elaborated in diverse ways by Simmel, Bloch, Kracauer, Benjamin and others and one that turns away from viewing modernity as a historical 'project'.

However, what does remain the case is that the features of modernity outlined by Wagner most often remain much too general and hide too much meaning that remains to be extrapolated. This is one reason why it has been fruitful to turn to Wagner's critics for

their sense of the implications of that which he failed to elaborate. In particular, the social dimensions of modernity for Wagner are not his primary concern.

Clearly this implied a different conception of the modern from the one which explores explicitly the surface of modern life. It is a more conventional conception of modernity that is identified with progress. As Achleitner has argued, in Wagner's conception of the modern,

> The emergent or dominant concepts of progress, as well as science, logic, hygiene, economy, technical perfection and achievement were embedded in the illusion of the unlimited, practicable modern world. For Wagner, progress was a perspective of the bourgeois principle of performance.[4]

Nonetheless, it can be argued that, despite the ideological predominance of this conception of modernity, Wagner's texts often unwittingly reveal doorways to the analysis of the surface of modern life, to modernity as interpreted in this other tradition of interpretation and analysis. At the very least, his texts provoke a consideration of Wagner's relevance to this alternative tradition.

If we return briefly to the features which Wagner ascribes to modern life then there are three aspects of metropolitan modernity that reveal the tensions and contradictions of modernity: abstraction, movement and circulation, and monumentalism. In their different ways, they all relate to one of the problems which Wagner insists upon addressing - the intelligibility (legibility) of the modern metropolis and its architecture.

The element of abstraction pertains to almost all of Wagner's characteristics of modernity life, be it the unlimited metropolis itself (a quantitative extension of the city in proportion of population expansion and in radial segments), progress conceived as a permanent, quantitative feature of modern life, democracy as abstract participation and the levelling of life forms, the rented apartment block as a 'conglomerate of cells' appropriate to this levelling, the significance of money in time calculation and purposive action (as

Simmel demonstrated, money is the most abstract measure of values),[5] transport in the sense that interchangeable individuals as part of a mass are able to use it (subject to possession of the fare), and the street as monument which can only be achieved by removing superfluous facade ornamentation and, simplifying it with abstract designs. What do not immediately succumb to the principle of abstraction are Wagner's emphasis upon technology and the differentiating movement of fashion. On occasion, this abstract dimension takes on telling characteristics as with the unlimited metropolis, whose expansion is to include a corresponding increase in troops stationed within it - and thereby giving an added nuance to the task of 'regulating' the modern metropolis.

The dynamic movement of the modern metropolis is represented both in some of the features of modern life and in some of Wagner's architectural projects. And here the crucial dimension of modernity is circulation. The very concept of the unlimited metropolis and Wagner's treatment of it is indicative of a dynamic spatial configuration in which commodities and individuals enter the circulation process. The emphasis upon traffic and social intercourse in the widest sense is one of Wagner's major concerns. This applies to the regulation of the Danube at the Nussdorf sluice and the water level regulating building on the Danube canal in the centre of the city and to the city railway project. These built structures are complemented by Wagner's unfulfilled projects for the expanding metropolis and, earlier, the regulation of the city. Theoretically, the straight lined street as facilitating the speed of circulation is significant here. The concern for straight streets and an infrastructure beneath these new streets (sewage, water, etc.) also indicate a connection between circulation and hygiene. In both his submission to the Vienna Regulation Competition in 1894 and in his Moderne Architektur mention is made of the problem of transportation of corpses in the expanding metropolis, suggesting that even in death we are still in circulation.

Wagner is also concerned with a more abstract dimension of circulation, namely that of money and capital. The recognition that the rented apartment block constitutes a significant element - and Wagner claims that this structure is more important in Vienna than in other cities - of urban capital and capital accumulation leads him not merely to insist upon the precise calculation of its costs (as he also provides for other projects) but also to construct the rented apartment block in such a way as to facilitate the sale (rent) of its constituent elements with profit maximization in mind. The more general circulation of money is given a symbolic representation on the exterior of the Post Office Savings Bank, with its bolts as coins and its plates as banknotes. In the case of both money and the apartment block, circulation is facilitated by abstraction and levelling.

This levelling process and increasing similarity and exchangeability of elements can be contrasted with two different dimensions of circulation which seem to support an opposing tendency towards differentiation. The first is the not fully developed discussion of fashion and contemporary sensitivity to its changes. Fashion consists both of a tendency towards differentiation (uniqueness) and imitation (identity). It is the differentiating aspect to which Wagner draws attention, along with its dynamic properties compared with style. But the turnover time of fashion - i.e. the circulation of fashions - is contingent upon successful imitation. It is a tension between these two aspects of fashion that Wagner does not fully explore. A reference to fashion is also to be found in remarks on contemporary interiors that should contain modern (fashionably attired) individuals. The circulation of individuals in interiors (including their use and the circulation of furniture - as moveables) is a process to which Wagner devotes considerable attention. Access, comfort, hygiene and circulation are all considered in his interiors be they villas, banks, hotels or rail stations.

Circulation and abstraction are both central to Wagner's assumptions concerning the transformation of experience in modernity. The increasing speed of circulation of

individuals generates an inability for the modern eye to cope with details, thereby encouraging less and more abstract ornamentation. The freedom of individuals to circulate in the metropolis is secured by the greater anonymity of apartment block dwellings. Similarly, the lack of intimacy in the straight lined street (in terms of the absence of closed squares, crooked streets, etc.) means that the sphere of intimacy can only be secured in interiors. In the public sphere, therefore, distance is preferable to cosiness. Our circulation in the metropolis is increasingly that of an abstract mass, whose units are interchangeable.

This growing abstraction can lead to pathological formations. It is Sitte who refers to the new modern disease of agoraphobia in broad open squares and long straight streets. By implication, Wagner would treat Sitte's closed squares and narrow crooked streets as conducive to claustrophobia. The construction of such pathological states and their recognition (and medicalisation) is part of a wider crisis in relation to time, space, things and the self in the late nineteenth century. Christine Boyer[6] has argued this for memory and remembrance (theorised by Freud, Bergson and others) and pointed to the pathology of loss in relation to the past as manifested in amnesia (where the destruction of the city may be a relevant factor, including the case of 'Old Vienna' and Kraus's reference to the disappearance of 'the last pillars of our memory'). To this could be added the spatial pathologies of agoraphobia and claustrophobia, a pathology of loss in relation to things in the form of hyperaesthesia (discussed by Simmel in connection with an aesthetic withdrawal from the world of things, in relation to the money economy but also the increase in the world of things in the modern metropolis)[7] and monomania as a pathology of loss of self in obsessions (which Sitte ascribes to Wagner's preoccupation with straight lines and a metropolis for 'geometric man').

As we have seen earlier, Wagner is also preoccupied with 'the tourist gaze' upon the metropolis in the streets and squares and at the monuments of the city.[8] He insists that

the attraction of the metropolis must be located in the streets themselves in the constellations of its architecture, in the physiognomy of the city and not confined or locked away in artistic memory museums (and here Sitte would concur with his disparaging reference to 'artistic cages'). Such reference to the physiognomy of the city suggests Boyer's broad characterisation of the city in this period as panorama[9] - derived from movement and new images, panoramisation of space in rail travel, and a perspective from above - to be relevant to Wagner's conception of the city and for some of his projects (such as the city railway). However, a consistent theme in Wagner's physiognomy of the city is the significance of the monumental. It too accords with an image of the city as a constellation of monuments for the tourist gaze, arranged hierarchically in Murray's but above all in Baedeker's guides.

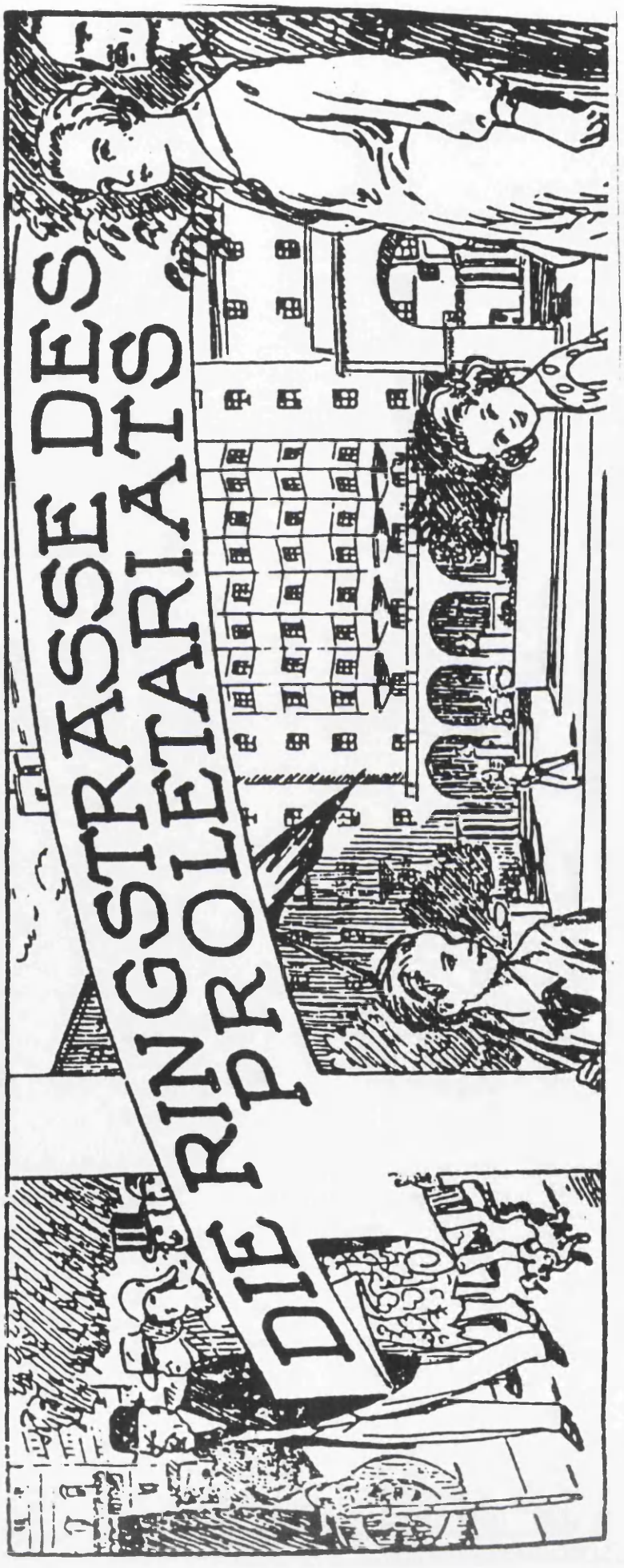
However, the monumental has a much greater significance in Wagner's work. There is a persistent complaint since at least the 1890's that Vienna is no longer the site of monumental architecture, for example in comparison with Berlin. Yet the conception of the monumental in Wagner's writings is ambiguous, if not contradictory. Monuments as public buildings are an object for Wagner's efforts and for his students. At the same time, Wagner emphasizes that the predominance of the rented apartment block and the increasing similarity of life forms creates a tendency for the straight street lined with apartments to be itself a monument. Both of these conceptions are frequently confronted in Wagner's writings, although both are not realised in his completed projects. The street as monument is a persistent theme in Wagner's confrontation with the modern metropolis. However, neither the completion of the Ringstrasse along the Danube canal, nor the avenue from Karlsplatz to Schönbrunn, nor the avenue from the Stubenviertel towards the Stephansdom recommended by Wagner and others was realised during his lifetime or subsequently.

Indeed, the striving for monumentality in a project to create a modern architecture that reflects modern life can itself be contradictory. To be consistent, monumentalism must itself be a feature of modern life to which architectural expression should be given. But aside from the street as monument (deriving from the levelling process in life circumstances), it is difficult to find in Wagner's characterisation of modernity the source for monumentalism. Rather, there is a tension between an architecture for use and monumentalism, unless we see the latter as emerging out of claims of power and forms of cultural domination. Their use is then to legitimate social, cultural and political formations. If we leave this aside for the moment (though Wagner has a telling design for a monument to culture sited in front of one of his museum designs with a dedication to Karl Lueger),[10] the tension in Wagner's position may be deeper. This tension is present in Feldegg's letter cited at the outset of these concluding remarks. The 'eruptive' or 'revolutionary tendency' in Viennese modernity - and both descriptions refer to a dynamic process - stands over against the putative absence of 'monumental tasks', despite the 'monumental trait' being a ('noble') feature of the Wagner School. If the experience of modernity is one of dynamic movement, disaggregation, discontinuity and disintegration of traditional modes of experience, then the function of the monumental can only be either to reflect or express this dynamic or to celebrate the victory of modernity over tradition. In passing, we may also conceive of the monumental as the transcendence of the levelling process in Wagner's sense. In the absence of a new Ringstrasse, which was no longer feasible, Wagner's city railway came closest to being a monument to the dynamic, circulatory aspect of modernity. As a total work of art it had no competition in cities such as Berlin, Paris or London. The next rail system as total work of art may well have been the Moscow underground system in the 1930's.[11] It is not at all evident that Wagner viewed his own city railway project in this way, rather than as a project fulfilling an essential use [Nutz] or purpose [Zweck].

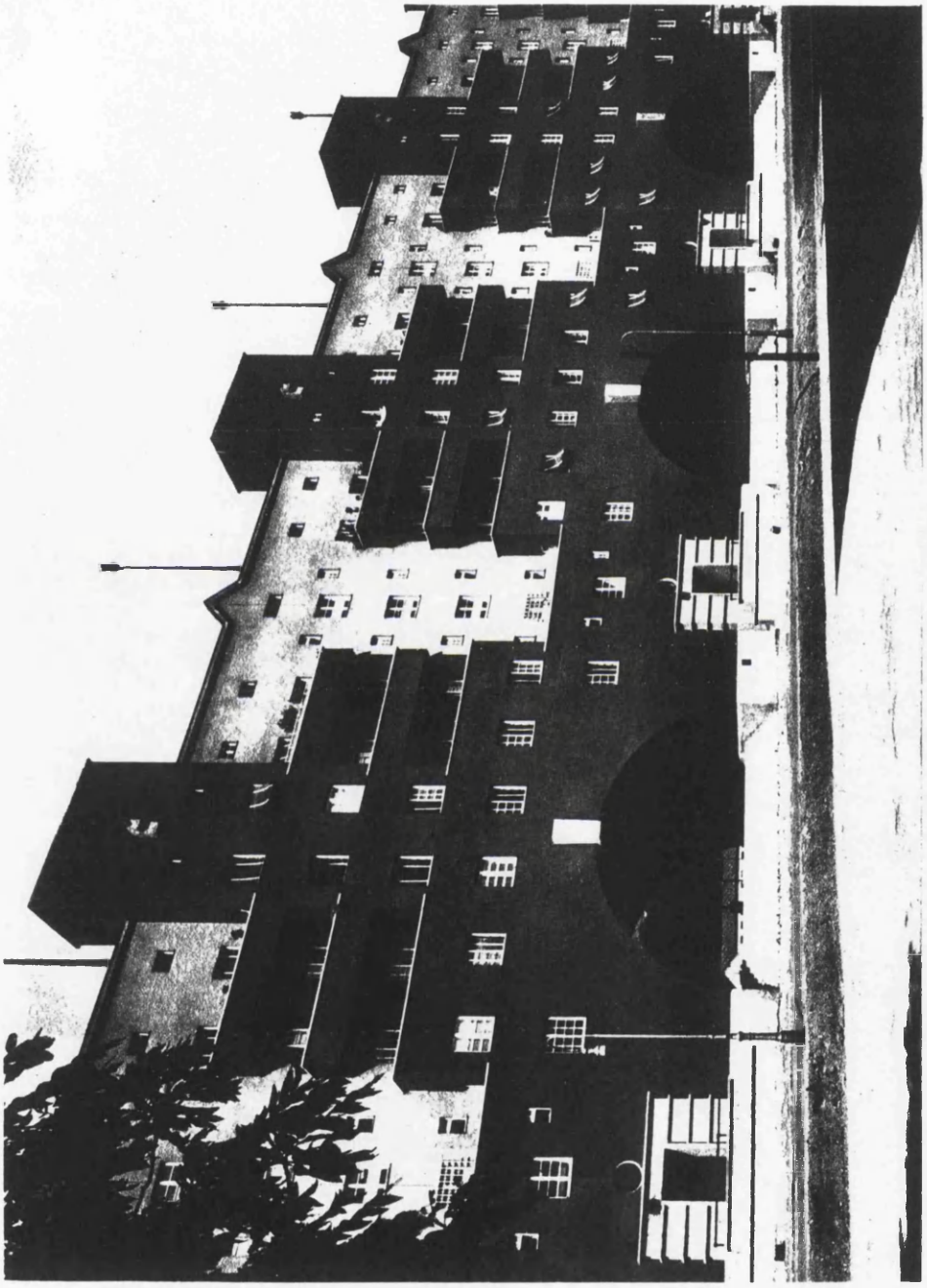
What is striking, however, is his premature assessment of the victory of modernism over its opponents. In this sense, Wagner sought to secure acceptance of modern monuments that could express this victory. In the political and culture context of Vienna this proved impossible. None of his Karlsplatz and other monumental projects came to fruition (the exception being the Post Office Savings Bank - but not the War Ministry opposite - and the Kirche am Steinhof). The bank is an economic 'monument' and the Kirche am Steinhof on the outskirts of the city is part of a mental hospital complex. Monumentalism can be effective where it is most visible in the dominant culture - usually in the centre of the metropolis. It was left to his students to make a major contribution to the most dominant feature of many suburbs - the public housing block in the 1920's and early 1930's as monuments. (I.101,102,103) Wagner's own plans for the repetitive housing block in the twenty second district of Vienna were not realised. Wagner did have an influence upon the likes of Ludwig Hilberseimer, whose 1924 plans for a highrise city (I.104) were later viewed by its designer as 'more a necropolis than a metropolis',[12] and upon Sant' Elia (I.105), some of whose futurist projections in turn may have provided inspiration for those intent upon an ultra- modernist programme.[13]

Finally, an overview of Wagner's aim to produce a modern architecture appropriate for modern life should address the issue which Wagner raised as one of the reasons for developing his modern architecture - to render architecture and the modern metropolis intelligible. This issue lies at the heart of all conceptions of the metropolis and its architecture as text. This textuality presupposes features of language, at their most basic a set of hieroglyphics but also syntactic (the 'grammar of styles' is relevant here, as is Simmel's refinement of this notion: 'each style has its own syntax') and semantic properties. It presupposes legibility in principle, not necessarily at the moment of production but in the future, the possibility of erroneous readings and readers (including the

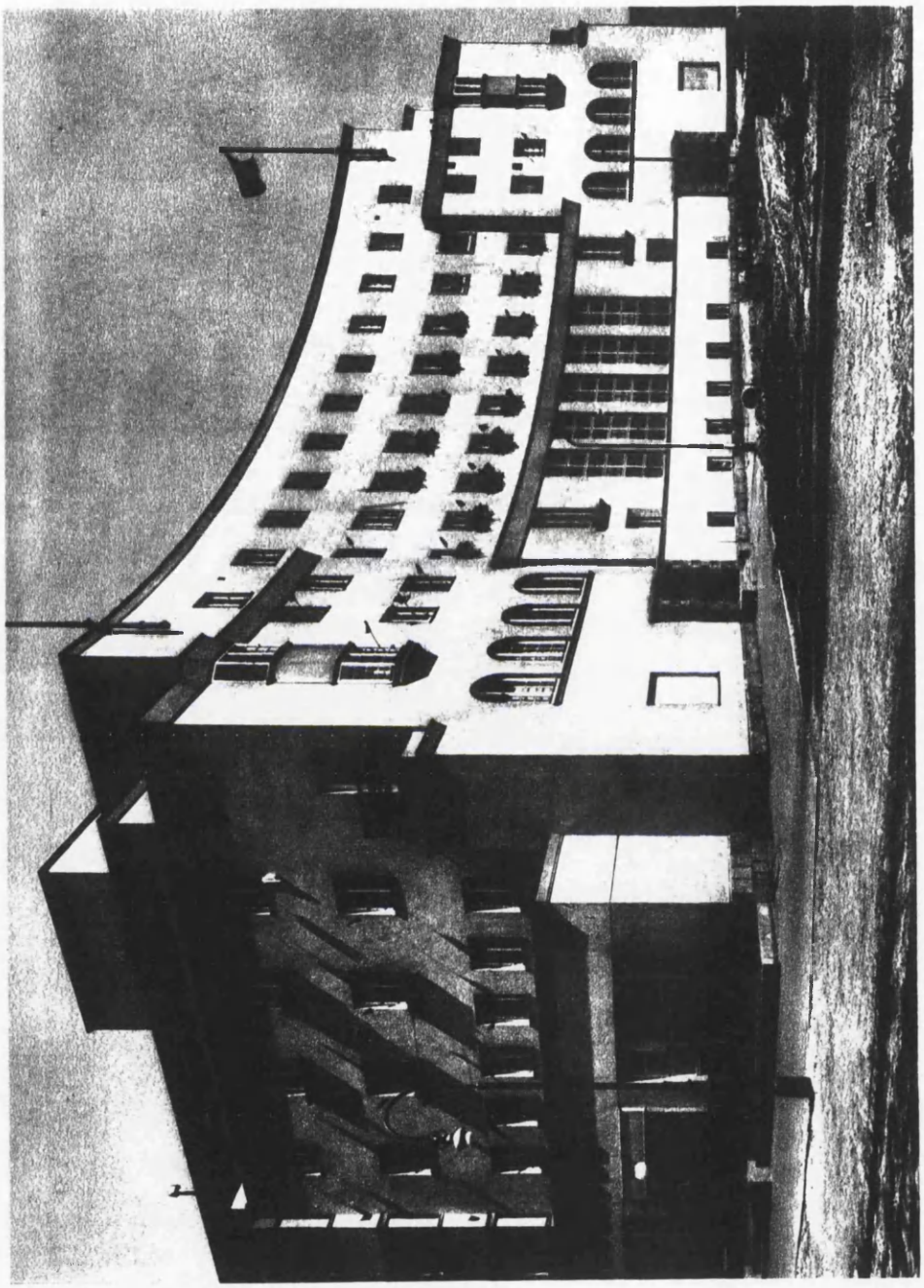
1920's Newspaper sketch celebrating the working class's own Ringstrasse



Karl-Marx-Hof



85. Karl-Marx-Hof in Heiligenstadt



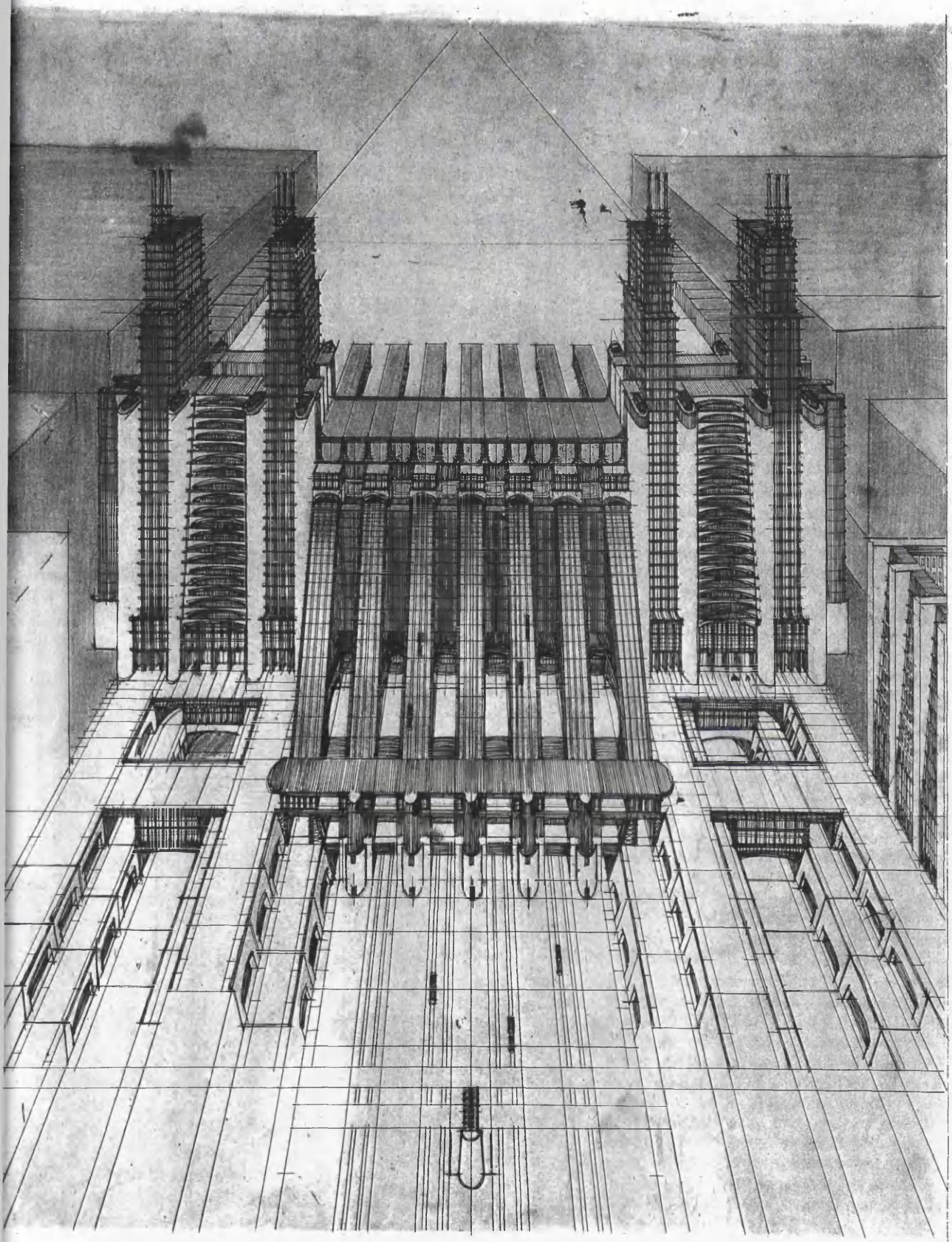
84. Gartenstadt Jedlesee

Hilberseimer : Highrise city (1924)

1. Hilberseimer, Project for a Highrise City, or *Hochhausstadt*, east-west street, 1924. Ink and watercolor on paper, 96.5 x 148 cm. Published in *Groszstadtarchitektur* (Stuttgart: Verlag Julius Hoffman, 1927), p. 19, ill. 24.

Sant'Elia: Railway Station and Airport (1914)

I.105



stratification of readership according to access - conditioned by power relationships - and features of the readership - conditioned by class, status, gender, ethnicity, etc.). As Wittgenstein pointed out, participation in all language games is a public activity (a private language game is impossible).

Clearly these are dimensions of textuality and language that Wagner does not directly address but which are nonetheless relevant to the issues that he raises. For Wagner, the issue is ostensibly more basic: the language of art (including architecture) is no longer intelligible to the mass public, since it is either expressed in engineers' unintelligible language or in eclectic Historicist styles; and, further, what is offered to the public is 'not the work of our times', i.e. does not 'correspond to modern human beings' and is therefore unintelligible. Modern architecture therefore urgently requires a new 'language of forms' or 'world of forms' that is intelligible. In turn, this language of forms must fully reflect or express modern life. Recourse to the language of forms of previous periods is inappropriate since it does not stand in any meaningful relationship to modern human beings.

Let us examine the implications of this argument more closely. The dramatic expansion of Vienna in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created an extensive new field of signs and symbols in the metropolis, not merely in its architecture but also in terms of street furniture and traffic constructions. Although Wagner is not directly concerned with the latter in terms of intelligibility, it is clear from the work of some of his students that kiosks and the like are also the subject of architectural design. However, Wagner's focus is not upon the quantity of signs to be read and interpreted but rather their nature. The symbolic language of the engineer is unintelligible for Wagner because it has not yet been given an artistic expression. Insofar as one of the features of Wagner's architectural practice is the incorporation of structural engineering into architectural form - and often its open display as with the city railway and the Post Office

Savings Bank - then this may be seen as his contribution to rendering its language, through translation, into an intelligible language of forms. The argument against Historicism relates to the historically bounded nature of its plurality of language forms, their attempt to hide the function of built structure (as an artistic 'lie'), and their inappropriateness for modern human beings and modern life. Historicist structures and especially their facades are not works 'of our times'.

The solution to the problem of intelligibility therefore lies, for Wagner, in giving aesthetic, architectural form to the features of modern life in such a manner that architecture will reflect the needs of modern human beings. This argument is applied both to individual built structures and constellations of structures as well as to the modern metropolis as a whole. In the latter case, the image of the city rests upon its physiognomy, which must be rendered attractive for its inhabitants and its visitors. And here Wagner insists that art must be in/on the modern street if it is to succeed in attracting a public untrained in reading its language. Again, however, Wagner does not bring this argument into conjunction with his earlier argument for the development of a Nutzstil, a style for use. However problematical in other respects, Wittgenstein's argument that the meaning of terms in language is related to the use to which they are put is, in the context of the language of forms or the world of forms in architecture, another way in which to approach the latter's meaning.[14] The use made of architecture's spatial configuration and, more generally the modern street and city, would provide some indication as to the intelligibility of its forms.

But Wagner's insistence upon architecture reflecting or corresponding to modern life, in the context of the issue of intelligibility, raises the issue as to the intelligibility of modern life itself, which can only be abstractly separated from its spatial, architectural forms. In other words, architecture is itself an important dimension of modern life.

Leaving this problem aside (which is associated with reflection theories of truth), it is still necessary to ask whether the features of modern life identified by Wagner that are to be expressed or reflected in a modern architecture (and the metropolis) will render this architecture intelligible. Does abstraction (associated with the modern eye, the straight lined street and other aspects) render modern architecture easier to read? If it increases its legibility (on the grounds that it is not burdened by a plethora of Historicist referents, for example), then what is this abstraction saying or communicating to us? If a modern architecture reflects the modern life of modern human beings, then does this not depend upon them being increasingly alike (as Wagner presupposes)?

There is one assumption which Wagner makes that raises other issues in the context of intelligibility, namely that 'we are all modern human beings'. This would be a minimal presupposition for assuming that those 'traversing the forest of symbols' (Baudelaire) and living in the 'spatial cosmos' (Benjamin) of the modern metropolis read the language of forms in the same, or at least a similar, way. What Wagner does not raise, but which was apparent from the critical confrontation with those who opposed his modern architecture, is the possibility that we are <u>not</u> all modern, and that our recognition of a 'modern' language of forms presupposes a knowledge of <u>past</u> forms.

The problem of our 'stock of knowledge at hand' (Schutz),[15] that is the prior knowledge that we bring to what is new and modern, raises significant issues. Must we discard or at least disregard our previous readings in order to understand what is new? Is it necessary to educate and socialize the public in the modern? Does what is modern only appear in opposition to what has passed?

The issue of 'the non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous' (which is analysed in the context of generational consciousness by Karl Mannheim)[16] is raised by Adolf Loos in his 'Ornament and Crime' and in a Viennese context. He maintains that,

> The rate of cultural development is held back by those that cannot cope with the present. I live in the year 1908, but my neighbour lives approximately in the year 1900, and one over there lives in the year 1880. It is a misfortune for any government if the culture of its people is dominated by the past. The farmer from Kals lives in the 12th century, and on the occasion of the Jubilee Procession [of 1908 - D.F.], tribes walked past which even during the period of mass migration were thought to be backward.[17]

Despite the disparaging reference to 'tribes' - which should have included sections of the landed aristocracy - Loos highlights the issue of the temporal differentiation of readings of the modern in contemporary Vienna. By prematurely presupposing a victory of modernism over other tendencies, Wagner failed to recognise the strength of a consciousness of the present that was still rooted in the past.

The issue of intelligibility is thus one which is dealt with in a contradictory manner by Wagner, also in respect of the mass of the population's 'stock of knowledge at hand'. At times, Wagner maintains that the mass of the population has little or no knowledge of art, thereby implying an inability to read its signifiers and a need for modern architects to simplify (abstract) their use of the language of forms. Elsewhere, Wagner claims that the public possesses a considerable degree of sophistication when it comes to reading the nuances of the latest fashions. If fashion is a crucial feature of the modern, and if fashion plays a significant role in architectural development, then the ability to read fashion indicates a capacity to read one of modernity's most important systems of signifiers. Again, if we were to focus upon how architectural structures (and the wider built environment of the metropolis) are used, then the issue of intelligibility could be advanced in a different and probably more productive direction that would indicate that 'the public' knows how to use modern architecture and the modern metropolis in however differentiated a manner. Such a perspective might wish to differentiate this usage not merely according to social class,

gender, ethnic and other social factors but also in terms of exteriors and interiors. The increasing abstraction of exteriors (advanced by Loos and others) and abandonment of any intimacy in the public sphere (though Benjamin, Hessel, Kracauer and others argued that this is socially differentiated) does not preclude a different response to interiors. Although this goes beyond the confines of the present study, the contrast between Wagner's exteriors and his considerable contribution to interior design (including furniture) might reveal significant affinities and oppositions.[18] The system of signifiers in the interior may well be differentiated from those in the exterior. At the same time, in neither the exterior nor the interior did Wagner abandon ornament (despite its increasing abstraction). Such ornamentation, including the diverse Jugendstil languages of forms, creates - as Asendorf has suggested - universal correspondences between things, between lighting, domestic objects, street furniture, and so on, thereby providing a unity of separate things. The plethora of things in a world in which, as Simmel stated it, we experience 'the culture of things as the culture of human beings' raises the problem of giving meaning to this expanding culture of things.[19] A significant dimension of this culture of things is constituted by architectural structures and the built environment. For all the weaknesses of Wagner's project to create a meaningful modern architecture for modern human beings, his manifesto for a modern architecture raised issues that remain to be confronted in a different manner today.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

BUILDING ACTIVITY IN VIENNA BY DISTRICT (1891-1904)

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
New Building Largest	II	II	XIII	II	II	X	XIII
Lowest	VIII	V	VII	I	VII	XV	XV
Industrial Building Largest	II	II	II	II	-	-	X

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904
New Building Largest	II	II	XIII	XI	XIII	X	XIII
Lowest	VIII	VIII	VII	VII	VIII	VIII	VII
Industrial Building Largest	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Districts

I Altstadt
II = Leopoldstadt
III= Landstrasse
V Margarethen
VII Neubau
VIII Josefstadt
X = Favoriten
XI Simmering
XIII Hietzing
XV Fünfhaus

Distribution

Building activity was highest in the expanding second district, both in terms of housing and commercial development(Leopoldstadt contained two major rail complexes as well as the exhibition area in the Prater), together with the overwhelmingly working class and industrial districts of Favoriten and Simmering. The exception is the development of the middle class residential district of Hietzing.

(Souce: Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung and Zeitschrift des Oesterreichisches Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins)

Appendix 2

Analysis of full page illustrations in 'Der Architekt' by building type

	Public	Miethaus	Villa	Commercial	Leisure	Religious	Industry
1895	8	6	8	4	11	4	
1896	4	11	14	3	11	9	
1897	11	16	9	4	10	7	
1898	6	12	12	9	18	9	
1899	5	25	8	11	10	14	1
1900	5	21	8	4	11	9	
1901	7	17	8	4	11	6	1
1902	5	8	17	3	5	11	
1903	8	6	17	13	14	13	
1904	9	17	9	6	6	17	1
1905	10	13	9	6	13	10	1
1906	16	13	9	5	10	11	
1907	7	20	9	4	12	8	
1908	6	1	4	3	3	4	
1909	7	5	2	4	9	13	1
1910	6	9	5	5	4	7	3
1911	2	13	7	6	7	5	1

	Public	Miethaus	Villa	Commercial	Leisure	Religious	Indust.
1912	11	12	7	8	6	11	
1913	16	19	7	9	8	4	1
1914	9	7	5	2	9	3	

Analysis

1 Public: Even though this category combines public buildings in the central, local and military sector with .those in the social sphere such as schools, hospitals and libraries, the total only exceeds the Miethaus in five years.
2 Miethaus: The largest single category of building, confirming its importance not merely for Wagner and his students but also for other architects too.
3 Villa: A substantial category which includes not merely villas in the countryside but also urban villas.
4 Commercial: Including office,shop and banking structures, this remains a relatively neglected category. Given the expansion of the economy after 1895, it is somewhat surprising that there are only two years when its representation achieves double figures.
5 Leisure: A large category comprising overwhelmingly bourgeois leisure structures such as spas,casinos,racetracks,etc.
6 Religious: Still a significant category associated with the development of new urban districts, but no longer at the forefront of architectural endeavours.
7 Industrial: Although the industrial sector was expanding, it was not a category of interest to avant garde architects. Factories were being built but not attracting architectural interest. In fact the first independent factory structure in a modern sense is displayed only in 1909.
8 Other building types: Worker housing is not represented. Terraced housing is first displayed in 1902. A transportable (prefabricated) house is displayed in 1904.In 1911 and 1913, villa colonies (as standardised middle class housing estates)are displayed.

Otto Wagner, um 1915

NOTES

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. For the most recent accounts in English of aspects of Wagner's work in relation to modernity see Harry F. Mallgrave (ed.), Otto Wagner. Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity, Santa Monica: The Getty Center, 1993. For a translation of Wagner's Moderne Architektur and the location of this work in an architectural hostorical context, see Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture (introduction and translation by Harry F. Mallgrave), Santa Monica. The Getty Center, 1988. From amongst the extensive relevant literature on Vienna around 1900 see Carl E. Schorske, Fin-de-siècle Vienna, New York: Knopf, 1980; Jürgen Nautz and Richard Vehrenkamp (eds.), Die Wiener Jahrhundertwende, Vienna: Böhlau, 1993 (see also selected bibliography pp.897-934); Rudolf Haller (ed.), nach kakanien. Annäherung an die Moderne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996.

2. See the discussion of the reception of this work in chapter 3 below. See also Harry F. Mallgrave 'Introduction' to Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture, op.cit., pp.1-51

3. See, for example, Anon (probably Albert Hofmann) 'Zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von Otto Wagner', Deutsche Bauzeitung, 45, 1911, pp.474-5, 486-488; Arthur Roessler, 'Oberbaurat Prof. Otto Wagner', Der Architekt, XVII, 1911, pp.57-9

4. Joseph August Lux, Otto Wagner. Eine Monographie, Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1914

5. Hans Tietze, Otto Wagner, Vienna/Berlin/Munich/Leipzig: Rikola Verlag, 1922

6. See, for example, contributions by Dagobert Frey, Leopold Bauer, Robert Oerley in Der Architekt, XXII, 1919, pp.1-26; Albert Hofmann 'Otto Koloman Wagner', Deutsche Banzeitung, 52, no.44, 1918, pp.189-90, 197-199; Othmar Leixner, 'Otto Wagner', Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur - und Architekten - Vereins, 71, 1919, pp.2-5, 19-27

7. See Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Wiener Architekten 1841-1918, Darmstadt: Hessisches Landesmuseum, 1964; Heinz Geretsegger and Max Peintner, Otto Wagner 1841-1918. Unbegrenzte Grossstadt. Beginn der Modernen Architektur, Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1964; Otto Antonia Graf, Die vergessene Wagnerschule, Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1969; Roland Leopold Schachel, Das Grossstadt Miethaus des Wagnerkreises. Studien zur Entwicklung der "Modernen Architektur" in Wien, Diss. Technische Hochschule Wien 1977; Marco Pozzetto, Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894-

1912, Vienna/Munich: Schroll, 1980; Gustav Peichl (ed.), Die Kunst des Otto Wagner, Vienna: Akademie der bildende Künste, 1984; Peter Haiko and Renata Kassal-Mikula, Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum: Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien, Vienna: Historisches Museum, 1987; Peter Haiko, Schriften zu Otto Wagner, Habilitationsschrift, 1987; Peter Asenbaum et al., Otto Wagner. Möbel und Innenräume, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1984; Iain Boyd Whyte, Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner. Emil Hoppe, Marcel Kammerer, Otto Schönthal, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1989; Günter Kolb, Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn, Munich: scaneg, 1989; Werner Oechslin, Stilhülse und Kern. Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur moderner Architektur, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1994

8. This makes it still necessary to rely upon a whole range of secondary sources as well as some original material, none of which is organised in a single archive.

9. Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten 1860-1918, 2 vols., Vienna: Böhlau, 1985. This remains the major published source for Wagner's projects.

10. Peter Haiko, Schriften zu Otto Wagner, op.cit.See most recently Otto Antonia Graf, Baukunst der Eros, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996

11. Wagner's unpublished diary cited in Hans Ostwald, Otto Wagner. Ein Beitrag zum Verständuis seines baukünstlerischen Schaffens, Promotionarbeit, Baden: Verlag Buchdrückerei A.G. Baden, 1948, p.16

12. Cited in Hans Ostwald, op.cit., p.17

13. Ibid., p.17

14. Peter Haiko, Schriften zu Otto Wagner, op.cit.

15. Cited in Haiko, op.cit., p.

16. Ibid., pp.293-4

17. Cited in Ostwald, op.cit., p.24

18. Peter Haiko, 'Zum Frühwerk Otto Wagners', Wiener Geschichtsblätter, 19, 1974, no.4, pp.284ff.

19. Cited in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner, (1964) op.cit., no pagination

20. Heinrich Kábdebo, 'Der kunstlerische Festzug der Stadt Wien', Oesterreichische Kunst-Chronik, (Fest-Nummer), 24.4.1879, p.12

21. Oesterreichische Kunst-Chronik, vol.2, no.10, 1879, p.153

22. 'Die Franz Josef-Säule am Praterstern' Oesterreichische Kunst-Chronik, vol.4, no.9, 1880, pp.128-9

23. Cited in Hans Ostwald, op.cit., p.24

24. Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner, op. cit.

25. See Otto Wagner, Einleitung' to Einige Scizzen, Projecte und ausgeführte Bauwerke, Vienna: Selbotverlag, 1889; reprinted in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten, vol.1, op.cit., pp.71-3

26. See Otto Wagner, 'Erläuterungs-Bericht zum Entwurte für den General-Regulierungs-Plan' in Otto A. Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten,vol.1, op.cit., pp.88-121

27. See Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, op.cit., pp.136-248 (Stadtbahn) and pp.126-133 (Danube sluice).

28. For details see Peter Haiko and Renata Kassal-Mikula, op.cit.

29. All these completed works and unbuilt projects are to be found in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten, op.cit.

30. For details on the school see the volumes by Graf, Pozzetto and Boyd Whyte in no.7. above

31. Manfredo Tafuri 'Am Steinhof. Centrality and "surface" in Otto Wagner's architecture' in Gustav Peichl (ed.), Die Kunst des Otto Wagner, Vienna: Akademie der bildende Künste, 1984, pp.61-75

32. What is briefly outlined below is a summary of the three chapters of the present study.

33. See Günther Dankl, Die Moderne in Österreich: Zur Genese und Bestimmung eines Begriffes in der österreichischen Kunst um 1900, Vienna: Böhlau, 1986

34. For a recent collection of essays on this topic see Manfred Smuda (ed.), Die Grossstadt als 'Text', Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992. For issues related to the semiology of the city see, for example, Mark Gottdiener and Alexandros Lagopoulos (eds.), The City and the Sign. An Introduction to Urban Semiotics, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

35. For a recent collection of essays on the flâneur see Keith Tester (ed.), The Flâneur, London: Routledge, 1994

36. For a fuller discussion see my Fragments of Modernity, Oxford: Polity, 1985, ch.1

37. See the discussion in my Fragments of Modernity, op.cit., ch.1. Also Marshall Berman, All That Is Solid Melts Into Air, London: Verso, 1983.

38. This connection between urban structure and capital accumulation has been explored by writers such as David Harvey. See David Harvey, Consciousness and the Urban Experience, Oxford: Blackwell, 1985; David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford, Blackwell, 1989.

39. Ciited in my Fragments of Modernity, op.cit., p.21

40. Cited in Manfred Smuda, 'Die Wahrnehmung der Grossstadt als ästhetisches Problem des Erzählens' in Manfred Smuda (ed.), Die Grossstadt als Text, op. cit., p.131. In the context of the Futurist response to the metropolis it is worth noting that Wagner's work had a significant impact upon Sant' Elia, the Futurist architect. For details of this relationship see Iain Boyd Whyte, 'Ein Wagner Schüller in absentia' in Vittorio M. Lampugnani (ed.), Antonio Sant'Elia. Gezeichnete Architektur, Munich: Prestel, 1992, pp.5-68

41. Cited in Manfred Smuda, op.cit., p.131

42. Franz Hessel, Ein Flâneur in Berlin, Berlin: Arsenal Verlag, 1984. The original title from 1930 was Spazieren in Berlin.

43. Cited in David Frisby 'The Flâneur in Social Theory', in Keith Tester (ed.), The Flâneur, op.cit., p.81. My emphasis

44. On Kracauer's reading of the metropolis see my Fragments of Modernity, op.cit.

44. On Kracauer's reading of the metropolis see my Fragments of Modernity, op.cit., ch.3; Inka Mülder, Siegfried Kracauer - Grenzgänger zwischen Theorie und Literatur, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985

45. Cited in my Fragments of Modernity, op.cit., p.109

46. See Fragments of Modernity, pp.135-6

47. Ibid., p.136

48. Louis Aragon, Paris Peasant, London: Picador, 1980

49. Louis Aragon, Paris Peasant, op.cit., pp.28-9

50. Cited in David Frisby, 'The Flâneur in Social Theory', op.cit., p.

51. Walter Benjamin, One Way Street, London: New Left Books, 1979

52. Walter Benjamin, Moscow Diaries, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1983

53. Walter Benjamin, Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1950

54. In Walter Benjamin, One Way Street, op.cit., pp.293-346

55. The incomplete project was assembled as Das Passagenwerk, Walter Benjamin, Gesammelte Schriften, V, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982

56. Graeme Gilloch, Myth & Metropolis. Walter Benjamin and the City, Oxford: Polity, 1996, see esp. his conclusion pp.168-184

57. Cited in Gilloch, op.cit., p.181

58. Ibid.

59. Peter Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996, p.47

60. Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, pp.91-110

61. Ibid., p.93

CHAPTER ONE

1. For the context of Wagner's appointment, see Walter Wagner, Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien, Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1967. All the German editions of Wagner's study were published in Vienna. See Otto Wagner, Moderne Architektur, Vienna: Schroll, 1896; 2nd edn. 1898; 3rd edn. 1902; Die Baukunst unserer Zeit, Vienna: Schroll, 1914. Only the fourth expanded and retitled edition has been separately reprinted. See Otto Wagner, Die Baukunst unserer Zeit, Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1979

2. "Moderne Architektur" in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten, 2 vols. Vienna: Böhlau, 1985, vol.1, p.264. This version of the first edition with texual variants from the second and third editions is readily available and all citations will be from this version

3. Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture, (trans. and ed. by Harry Mallgrave), Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1988, p.1, where Mallgrave refers to it as 'one of a handful of books in the literature of architecture whose appearance not only created a sensation but also presaged a revolution ... and was the first modern writing to make a definite break with the past'. Mallgrave provides a translation based on the fourth edition, with all the textual variations of the other editions, as well as a useful introduction placing the volume in context.

4. See Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten, op. cit., pp.263-4

5. Ibid., p.264

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p.287

9. Ibid.

10. See H.U. Gumbrecht, 'Modern, Modernität, Moderne', in O. Brunner, W. Conze and R. Kosellek (eds.), Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, vol.4, Stuttgart: 1978, pp.93-131; Klaus Herding, 'Die Moderne: Begriff und Problem' in Monika Wagner (ed.), Moderne Kunst, Reinbek, Rowohlt, 1991, pp.175-1964

11. Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life' in The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays, London: Phaidon, 1964

12. Carl E. Schorske, Fin de Siecle Vienna, New York: Knopf, 1980

13. There is now a huge literature on this topic. See n.1 to the Introduction.

14. For an overview of the wider Empire development see Akos Moravanszky, Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie, Berlin: Ernest & Sohn, 1988; Akos Moravanszky, Die Erneuerung der Baukunst, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1988. See also Hanns Haas/Hannes Stekl (eds.), Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung, Vienna: Böhlau, 1995

15. See, for example, Jürgen Schutte and Peter Sprengel (eds.), Die Berliner Moderne, Stuttgart: Reklam, 1986; Walter Schmitz (ed.), Die Münchener Moderne, Stuttgart: Reklam, 1990

16. Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter (eds.), Fin-de-siècle, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1990, Eugene Weber, France, Fin de Siècle, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986, p.10

17. Teich and Porter (eds.), Fin de siecle, op. cit., p.1

18. See Charles Baudelaire 'The Painter of Modern Life', op. cit.

19. 'Who made Vienna 1900 a capital of modern culture?' in Emil Brix and Allan Janik (eds.), Kreatives Milieu. Wien um 1900, Munich: R.Oldenbourg, 1993, p.175

20. See Walter Benjamin, Das Passagenwerk, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp 1980

21. This was the title of one of the drafts for the larger Arcades Project. See Walter Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire, London: New Left Books, 1973, pp.

22. Hans R. Jauss, in Literatur als Provokation, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970, pp.11-66

23. See Gotthart Wunberg (ed.), Die literarische Moderne. Dokumente zum Selbstverständnis der Moderne um die Jahrhundertwende, Frankfurt: Athenaum, 1987. See also Klaus C. Köhnke, 'Zum Problem des Begriffe der Moderne - ein Lösungsvorschlag', Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien, 2, Leipzig 1997, pp.3-10

24. Gotthart Wunberg (ed.), Das junge Wien, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976

25. Theodor W. Adorno, Minima Moralia, London: New Left Books, 1974
For a useful discussion of the significance of this in the context of the study of modernity see Peter Osborne, 'Modernity is a qualitative, not a chronological category', New Left Review, 192, 1992, pp.65-84

26. For a brief discussion of Baudelaire upon which what follows is based see David Frisby, Fragments of Modernity, Oxford: Polity/Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1986

27. Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', op.cit., p.13

28. Ibid., p.15

29. Ibid., p.13

30. See David Frisby, Fragments of Modernity, op. cit., ch.1.

31. For a recent biography of Haussmann in this context, see David P. Jordan. Transforming Paris, New York: Free Press, 1995

32. Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', op.cit., p.9

33. On the fläneur as figure see Keith Tester (ed.) The Fläneur, London: Routledge 1994, and my contribution there 'The Fläneur in Social Theory', pp.81-110

34. Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', op.cit., p.11

35 For a recent discussion of the relevance of fashion for architecture see Deborah Fausch et al. Architecture: In Fashion, Princeton, Princeton Architectural Press, 1994

36. The desire for spatial monumentalism is simultaneously a desire for temporal monumentalism across time.

37. There exists no complete biography of Otto Wagner. Details of his career can be found in Graf's Otto Wagner, op. cit.

38. Heinrich Hübsch's piece and other early German discussions of style have been translated and assembled in a useful collection. See Wolfgang Herrmann (ed.), In Which Style Should We build? The German Debate on Architectural Style, Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1992

39. See the pieces in Herrmann's collection cited in n.38

40. Wolfgang Hermann (ed.), In What Style Should We Building, op. cit., p.111

41. Ibid., p.144

42. Ibid., pp.169-177

43. Ibid., p.172

44. Ibid., p.173

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., p.175

47. Ibid., p.176

48. Jürgen Habermas, The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity,Cambridge: Polity, 1987

49. See Allan Janik 'Vienna 1900', in Emil Brix and Patrick Werkner (eds,), Die Wiener Moderne,Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900, p.151-163; For a critical account of Vienna 1900 literature see Hubert C. Ehalt, Gernot Heiss and Hannes Stekl (eds.), Glücklich ist, wer vergisst ...?, Vienna: Böhlau, 1986

50. For a different account using some of these sources see Mitchell Schwarzer, German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1995. For an attempt to locate Wagner in this earlier context see also Werner Oechslin, Stilhülse und Kern. Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur moderner Architektur, Berlin: Ernst u. Sohn, 1994

51. Gottfried Semper, The Four Elements of Architecture and other Writings, (trans. and ed. Harry Mallgrave and Wolfgang Herrmann), Cambridge: C.U.P., 1989

52. Josef Bayer, 'Wie sollen wir bauen?' in his Baustudien und Baubilder, Jena: Diedrichs, 1919, p.267

53. Ibid., p.268

54. Ibid.

55. Rudolf Redtenbacher, 'Die Baukunst der Vergangenheit und ihre Stellung zu derjenigen der Gegenwart', Allgemeine Banzeitung, (Henceforth ABZ) 46, 1881

56. Ibid., p.19

57. Hans Auer, 'Die Entwicklung des Raumes in der Baukunst', ABZ, 48, 1883, pp.

58. Ibid., p.74

59. Ibid.

60. Haus Auer, 'Moderne Stylfragen', ABZ, 50, 1885, pp.

61. Ibid., p.19

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., p.20

64. Ibid., p.26

65. Josef Bayer, 'Glass und Eisen' in Baustudien und Baubilder, op. cit.

66. Ibid., p.278

67. Josef Bayer, 'Moderne Bautypen' in Baustudien und Baubilder, op. cit.

68. Loc. cit., p.280

69. Ibid., p,281

70. Ibid., p.282

71. Ibid., p.283

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., p.284

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., p.285

76. Ibid., p.287

77. Ibid., p.288

78. Josef Bayer, 'Stylkrisen in unserer Zeit' in Baustudien und Baubilder, op. cit.

79. loc. cit., p.290

80. Ibid., p.290

81. Gottfried Semper, 'On Architectural Styles' in The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings, op. cit., pp.

82. Semper, op. cit., p.267

83. Joseph Bayer, 'Stylkrisen in unserer Zeit, op. cit., p.292

84. Ibid., pp.292-3

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid., p.295

87. See Oechslin, Stilhülse und Kern, op. cit.

88. Ludwig Trzeschtik, 'Die moderne Architektur', ABZ, 54, 1889, pp.1-5, 14-16, 31-32, 37-40, 47-48

89. loc. cit., p.38

90. Ibid., p.48

91. Otto Wagner, Einige Skizzen, Projekten und ausgeführte Bauwerke, vol.1, Vienna: Selbstverlag 1889; Schroll 1891. Reprinted with volumes 2, 3 and 4 under same title, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1987

92. Peter Haiko, "Einige Skizzen, Projekten und ausgeführte Bauwerke. Dokumente seiner Baukunst' in Einige Skizzen, op.cit., pp.5-11

93. loc. cit., p.6

94. Ibid., p.17

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., pp.17-18

97. Ibid., p.18

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid. My emphasis

100. Ibid.

101. Albert Hofmann, 'In welchem Styl sollen wir bauen?', ABZ, 55, 1890, pp.81-84, 89-92

102. loc. cit., p.91

103. Ibid.

104. Cornelius Gurlitt, 'Alte Formen - neuer Stil!', Deutsche Bauzeitung, (herafter DBZ), 23, 1889, pp.346-9

105. loc. cit., p.349

106. Karl E.O. Fritsch, 'Stil-Betrachtungen', DBZ, 24, 1890, pp.417-30, 434-40

107. loc. cit., p.439

108. Heinrich Schattenburg, 'Eine Skizze zur kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklung der Stylarten', ABZ, 53, 1894, pp.16-19

109. Mitchell Schwarzer, German Architectural Theory op. cit., pp.93 and 121

110. Heinrich Schattenburg, 'Eine Skizzen', op. cit., p.19

111. Ibid.

112. Anon 'Der Baustil unserer Zeit', Zeitschrift für praktische Baukunst, 50, 1890, p.137

113. loc. cit., p.137

114. See also in the same journal 'Die Stylverwirrung unserer Zeit', 51, 1891, pp.116-119

115. Gotthart Wunberg, (ed.) Das junge Wien, op.cit.

116. loc. cit., p.XLI

117. For a translation and the coffee house context, see Harold B.Segel, The Vienna Coffee House Wits. 1890-1938, West Layfayette: Purdue University Press, 1993

118. loc. cit., p.65

119. Cited in Gotthart Wunberg, Das junge Wien, op. cit., p.411, n.43

120. See later in this chapter and chapter three

121. Gotthart Wunberg, Das junge Wien, op. cit., p.LV

122. Moritz Czáky, 'Moderne', in Emil Brix and Patrick Werkner (eds.) Die Wiener Moderne, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1990, p.32

123. For a brief discussion see David Frisby, 'Modernità', Enciclopedia della Scienze Sociali, vol 5, Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996, pp.754-61

124. Cited in Wunberg, Das junge Wien, op.cit., vol.1, pp.281-2

125. On the Munich group see Maria Makela The Munich Secession, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990

126. The critic Ludwig Hevesi reviewed recent trends in art, architecture and culture in Vienna at the turn of the century. His two volumes of articles provide an invaluable source for insights. See Ludwig Hevesi, Acht Jahre Secession, Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1906 (reprinted 1984 by Ritter Verlag, Klagenfurt); Ludwig Hevesi, Altkunst-Neukunst. Wien 1894-1908, Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1909 (reprinted 1986 by Ritter Verlag, Klagenfurt)

127. Ludwid Hevesi, 'Die Münchener "Sezession" in Wien' in Acht Jahre Sezession, op.cit., pp.523-542, esp. p.526. My emphasis

128. Ibid., p.530

129. For details ofWagner's appointment see Walter Wagner, Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien, op.cit., pp.251-2. Pozzetto, in his Die Schule Otto Wagners. 1894-1912, op.cit., falsely gives the date of the inaugural lecture as September 1894. Otto Graf in Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten, op.cit., correctly gives 15th October 1894. The lecture was published in the DBZ, on 27th October 1894

130. Cited in Walter Wagner, Die Geschichte der Akademie, op.cit., p.252

131. In DBZ, 1894, p.529

132. Ibid., p.530

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.

135. Pseudo-anonymously as 'Victor H-t', 'Die Architektur an der Wiener Akademie', Wiener Bauindustrie Zeitung (hereafter WBZ), 11, 15.3.1894, pp.293-5

136. Victor Höfert,'"Modern"', WBZ, 12, 24.1.1895, pp.249-50; 17.1.1895, pp.265-6

137. loc. cit., p.249

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid., p.250

140. Ibid., p.265

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., pp.165-6

145. Ibid., p.266

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. See Roland L. Schachel, Das Grosstadtmiethaus [sic] des Wagnerkreises. Studien zur Entwicklung der Modernen Architektur' in Wien, Doctoral dissertation, Technische Universität Vienna, 1977

149. Georg Simmel, 'Zur Psychologie der Mode: Sociologische Studie', Die Zeit, 5, 12.10.1895, pp.22-24

150. An expanded English version appeared in 1904 as Georg Simmel, 'Fashion', International Quarterly, New York), 10, 1904. The fullest treatment was in a brochure as Georg Simmel, Philosophie der Mode, Berlin: Pan, 1905, reproduced in Georg Simmel, Philosophische Kultur, Berlin: Klinkhardt 1911. An English translation is now available in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds.), Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings, London/Los Angeles: Sage, 1997

151. See Michael Müller, Schöner Schein. Eine Architekturkritik, Frankfurt: Athoneum, 1987 for a discussion of Simmel on the metropolis and objective culture in relation to Wagner. For a recent discussion of the fashion essay in relation to architecture, but without making the temporal connection and, in fact citing the later (1904) English version, seeMary McLeod, 'Undressing Architecture. Fashion, Gender and Modernity', in Architecture: In Fashion, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp.38-123

152. Georg Simmel, 'Zur Psychologie der Mode', op.cit., p.105

153. Ibid.

154. Ibid, pp.106-7

155. Ibid., p.107

156. Ibid., pp.112-3

157. Carl E. Schorske, Fin de Siecle Vienna, op.cit.

158. Dijkstra,

159. Mary McLeod, in Architecture: In Fashion, op.cit., p.53

160. Georg Simmel, 'Zur Psychologie der Mode', op.cit., p.110

161. Adolf Loos, 'Ornament and Crime' in The Architecture of Adolf Loos, London: Arts Council, 1987, pp.100-103

162. Ernst Bloch, Heritage of Our Times, Oxford: Polity 1991

163. Beatriz Colomina, Privacy and Publicity, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994

164. Georg Simmel, 'Zur Psychologie der Mode', op.cit., p.113

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid., p.114

167. Marco Pozzetto, Die Schule Otto Wagners, op.cit., p.12

168. Ibid., p.25

169. Freiherr von Feldegg, 'In welchem Stil sollen wir bauen?', Der Architekt, (henceforth DA), I, 1895, p.48

170. loc. cit., p.48

171. Cited in Pozzetto, op.cit., p.169

172. Max Fabiani, 'Aus der Wagner Schule' in Marco Pozzetto, op.cit., pp.

173. Ibid., p.146

174. Ibid., pp.146-7

175. What does appear to have occurred is that Wagner dictated some or all of the text to Fabiani. See Damjan Prelovsek, Joze Plecnik. 1872-1957, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997, p.316, n.26 which states:

> According to Fabiani, he actually wrote the book down. Wagner invited him to stay in his villa in Hütteldorf for a time, and first went through the entire subject with him. See N. Sumi: 'Pismo Maksa Fabianija iz leta 1955' ('A letter by Max Fabiani from 1955) in Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino, New Series XXVII, Ljubljana 1991, pp.121-2

176. Anon, 'Aus der Wagner Schule', in M. Pozzetto, op.cit., p.151

177. Alfred Roller, 'Aus der Wagner Schule' in M. Pozzetto, op.cit., p.152

178. Ibid., p.152

179. Ibid.

180. Fritz Minkus, 'Unser Styl', WBZ, 13, 16.4.1896, pp.373-4; 23.4.1896, pp.385-6

181. loc. cit., p.374

182. Ibid., p.385

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Fritz Schumacher, 'Die Sehnsucht nach dem "Neuen"', DBZ, 31, 1897, pp.629-632

187. Ibid., p.630

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid., p.631

190. Ibid., p.632

191. F. von Feldegg, 'Historisch-Modern', DA, IX, 1903, pp.43-6,

192. 'Die Alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst' in DA, IV., 1898, pp.30-36

193. 'Das Alte und das Neue in der Baukunst', DBZ, 1898, pp.26-28, 30-31

194. 'Die Alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst', op. cit., p.30

195. Ibid.

196. Ibid.

197. Ibid., p.31

198. Ibid.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid., p.32

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid., emphasis in original

204. Ibid.

205. Ibid., p.34

206. Ibid., p.35

207. Ibid., p.36

208. This is another indication of the contentious nature of the modernist project in the 1890's

209. Franz von Neumann, 'Die Moderne in der Architektur und im Kunstgewerke', ZOIAV, 51, 10.3.1899, pp.145-9

210. See the stenographed minutes of the meeting of the Gesellschaft Österreichischer Architekten for 4 January 1910, in the Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft Österreichischer Architekten, 1910, pp.20-67

211. Franz von Neumann, op.cit., p.145

212. Ibid.

213. Ibid., p.146

214. Ibid.

215. Ibid., p.147

216. Ibid.

217. Ibid.

218. Franz von Neumann, 'Die Baugeschichte Wiens in den Jahren 1848-1898', ZOIAV, 51, 1899, pp.197-201

219. ZOIAV, 51, 1899, p.149

220. Ibid.

221. Ibid.

222. Ibid., p.151

223. Ibid.

224. Ibid.

225. Ibid.

226. Ibid., p.161

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid, p.162

229. Ibid.

230. Ibid., p.163

231. Ibid., pp.163-4

232. Ibid., p.164

233. Ibid., p.165

234. See Robert Musil, The Man Without Qualities (trans. Sophie Wilkins), New York: Knopf, 1995

235. ZOIAV, op.cit., p.166

236. Ibid.

237. Ibid., p.167

238. Ibid., p.167-8

239. Ibid., p.168

240. Ibid., p.

241. Ibid., p.187

242. Ibid.

243. Ibid., p.188

244. Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

1. See Elisabeth Springer, Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978; Rudolf Wurzer, Die Wiener Ringstrasse. Städtebauliche Planung und Verwirklichung, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978

2. On the economic significance of the Ringstrasse see Franz Baltzarek, Alfred Hoffmann and Hannes Stekl (eds.), Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Stadterweiterung, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975

3. See Springer and Wurzer, loc.cit., and Elisabeth Lichtenberger, Wirtschaftsfunktion und Sozialstruktur der Wiener Ringstrasse, Vienna: Böhlau, 1970

4. See Elisabeth Springer, loc. cit.

5. F. von Feldegg, 'Wiens zweite Renaissance', DA, I, 1895, pp.1-2

6. Köstlin, 'Das neue Wien', ABZ, 1883, pp.1-2, 20-23

7. Köstlin, 'Neu-Wien', ABZ, 1885, pp.1-4

8. Ludwig Hevesi, 'Altwien-Neuwien', (8.3.1895), in Altkunst-Neukunst, op.cit., pp.176-182

9. The later discussion of the 1920's was, of course, in the context of a post-1918 'Neu Österreich'.

10. Camillo Sitte, Der Städtbau nach seinen kunstlerischen Grundsätzen, Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1889. There is a full English translation with a valuable introduction and bibliography as Camillo Sitte, City Planning According to Artistic Principles, (trans. and ed. George Collins and Christiane Collins) New York: Rizzoli, 1985

11. Josef Stübben, Der Städtebau, Darmstadt: Bergstrasser, 1890. This volume has recently been reprinted by Vieweg, 1980. For a recent study of Stübben's work seen Oliver Karnau, Hermann Joseph Stübben, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 1996.

12. In part this discourse focuses upon the juxtaposition of the old and the new, as well as upon the mundane, but no less significant, consequences of a new urban infrastructure

13. For a recent study of Sitte's work, drawing upon some of this material, see Michael Mönninger, Von Ornament zum Nationalkunstwerk, Diss. Technische Universität Karlsruhe, 1995

14. See the discussion below

15. Joseph Stübben, Der Städtbau, op.cit., p.42

16. Ibid., p.44

17. See my Fragments of Modernity, op. cit., ch.4

18. See the discussion in DBZ, 1910.

19. See Otto Wagner, Die Grossstadt: Eine Studie über diese, Vienna: Schroll, 1911. For an English translation see 'The Development of the Great City', Architectural Record, 31, May 1912, pp.485-500; now reprinted in Oppositions, no.17, summer 1997, pp.103-6. The expectation of an ever-expanding city had already been advanced during the General Regulation of Vienna Competition in 1894 and was speculated upon by Wagner, Hoffmann and others

20. For a discussion of the German context see Brian Ladd, Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990

21. On Haussmann see David P. Jordan, Transforming Paris, op. cit.

22. Brian Ladd, Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, op.cit., p.113

23. See David Harvey, Consciusness and the Urban Experience, Oxford, Blackwell, 1985

24. Reinhard Baumeister, Stadt-Erweiterung in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung, Berlin: Ernst und Korn, 1876

25. Brian Ladd, Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, op.cit., p.112

26. Camillo Sitte, City Planning According to Artistic Principles, op.cit., p.138

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p.141

30. Ibid., p.142. My emphasis

31. Ibid.

32. See

33. Camillo Sitte, City Planning,op.cit., p.170

34. Ibid., p.183. For a fuller discussion of the architectural significance of agoraphobia see Anthony Vidler, The Architectural Uncanny, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

35. Camillo Sitte, City Planning, op.cit., p.184

36. Ibid., pp.187-8

37. Ibid., p.197.

38. Ibid., pp.213-4. My emphasis

39. Ibid., p.225

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., p.228. For a different recent discussion of the plain (white) wall see Mark Wrigley, White Walls, Designer Dresses. The Fashioning of Modern Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995

42. See the discussion on straight and crooked streets below

43. Camillo Sitte, City Planning, op. cit., p.233

44. Ibid., p.234

45. Ibid., p.236

46. Ibid., p.240

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p.241

49. Ibid., p.244

50. Ibid., p.243

51. Ibid., p.245

52. Ibid., p.246

53. Ibid., p.263

54. Ibid., p.270

55. Ibid., p.271

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p.278. My emphasis

58. Ibid., p.299

59. Joseph Stübben, Der Städtebau, op.cit. The volume appears as part IV of a Handbuch der Architektur.

60. Daniel Wieczorek, 'Camillo Sittes "Stadtebau" in neuer Sicht' in Berichte zur Raumforschung und Raumplanung, 33, no. 35, 1989, pp.35-44

61. Gerhard Fehl, 'Stadtbaukunst contra Stadtplanung: Zur Auseinandersetzung Camillo Sittes mit Reinhard Baumeister', Stadtbauwelt, 71, 1981, pp.273-84

62. Joseph Stubben, Der Städtebau, op.cit., p.

63. Ibid., p.514

64. Ibid., p.515

65. Ibid., p.16

66. Notably largely absent in Der Architekt, for example, are instances of working class housing. The issue is discussed more frequently in the Deutsche Bauzeitung

67. Josef Stübben, Der Städtebau, op.cit., p.32

68. Ibid., p.33

69. Ibid., p.40

70. Ibid., p.515

71. Josef Stübben, 'Gerade oder Krumme Strassen?', DBZ, 13, 7.4.1877, pp.

72. Ibid., p.134

73. Josef Stübben, Über die Anlage öffentliche Plätze' DBZ, 11, 1877, pp.393-5.

74. Ibid., p.393

75. See Beatriz Colomina, Privacy and Publicity, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994

76. Josef Stübben, op.cit., p.405

77. Karl Henrici, 'Gedanken über das moderne Städte-Bausystem', DBZ, 25, 1891, pp.81-3, 86-91

78. Ibid., p.83

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., p.88

81. Ibid., p.90.

82. Joseph Stübben, 'Über Fragen der Städtebaukunst', DBZ, 25, 1891, p.122-8, 150-55

83. Ibid., p.123

84. Ibid., p.154

85. Ibid.,

86. Karl Henrici, 'Der Individualismus im Städtebau', DBZ, 25, 1891, pp.295-8, 301-2, 320-22

87. Ibid., p.296

88. Ibid., p.297

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., p.301

91. See Maria Hornor Lansdale, Vienna and the Viennese, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates, 1902

92. Joseph Stübben

93. Karl Henrici, 'Langweilige und kurzweilige Strassen', DBZ, 27, 1893, pp.271-4

94. Ibid., p.271

95. Joseph Stübben, 'Zur schonheitlichen Gestaltung städtische Strassen, DBZ, 27, 1893, pp.294-6

96. Ibid., p.296

97. See, for example, Maria Horner Lansdale, Vienna and the Viennese, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates, 1902

98. Renate Schweitzer, 'Der Generalregulierungsplan für Wien. 1893-1920', Berichte zur Raumforschung und Raumplanung (Vienna), 14, no.6, 1970, pp.23-41

99. Ibid., pp.39-40

100. F. von Feldegg, 'Wiens zweite Renaissance', DA, vol.1, 1895, p.2

101. See Elizabeth Lichtenberger, Wirtschaftsfunktion und Sozialstruktur der Wiener Ringstrasse, Vienna: Böhlau, 1970

102. Wolfgang Mayer, 'Der Städtebau Wiens um die Jahrhundertwende' in Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, vol.34, 1978, pp.276-308, esp. p.279

103. See Otto Wagner's, Die Grossstadt, op.cit.

104. There exist a whole series of detailed studies of the Ringstrasse which examine architectural, economic and social aspects of the Ringstrasse development

105. Carl E. Schorske, Fin de siecle Vienna, op.cit., p.26

106. This monumentalism was continued in the post 1918 period in the public housing blocks, most of which were designed by Wagner's students. The thirst for monumentalism was also evident in Adolf Hitler's response to the Ringstrasse. See Brigitte Hamann, Hitlers Wien, Munich: Piper, 1996

107. On the dwellings in the Ringstrasse zone see Klaus Eggert, Die Wohnbau der Wiener Ringstrasse im Historismus 1855-1896, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976

108. Walter Benjamin, Das Passagenwerk, op.cit., .225. On the Historicist relationship to history see Anton Bammer, Architektur als Erinnerung, Vienna: Osterreichische Gesellschaft für Archäologie, 1977. More briefly, Anton Bammer, 'Architektur als Erinnerung - Wiener Architektur im Historismus', Um Bau, no.6/7, 1983, pp.35-48

109. See Akos Moravanszky, Competing Visions. Aesthetic Intervention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997

110. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1979, esp. pp.1-14

111. Carl E. Schorske, Fin de siecle Vienna, op.cit., p.45

112. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, London: Verso, 1983

113. Paul Kortz (ed.), Wien am Aufang des XX Jahrhunderts, 2 vols., Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedlin, vol.1, 1905, p.70. These two volumes provide detailed information on all types of building and engineering activity in Vienna in this period

114. Klaus Eggert, Die Wohnbau der Wiener Ringstrasse, op.cit.

115. Ibid., p.2

116. Ibid., pp.3-4

117. On these neglected but crucial structures see Robert Waissenberger, Wiener Nutzbauten des 19. Jahrhunderts als Beispiele zukunftweisenden Bauens, Vienna/Munich: Jugend und Volk, 1977

118. Elizabeth Lichtenberger, Die Wiener Altstadt, Veinna: Deuticke, 1977, pp.220-1

119. Ibid., pp.220-1

120. Ibid., p.221

121. Robert Waissenberger, (ed.), Vienna 1890-1920, New York: Rizzoli, 1984, p.10

122. August Köstlin, 'Das neue Wien', ABZ, 1883, pp.1-2, 20-23

123. August Köstlin, 'Das neue Wien', ABZ, 1885, pp.1-4

124. Ibid., p.2

125. Ibid., p.3

126. August Köstlin, 'Wien in November 1890', ABZ, 1891, pp.1-4

127. Ibid., p.1

128. On the historical and contemporary migrations to Vienna see Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, Schmelztiegel Wien-Einst und Jetzt, (2nd Edition), Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1993

129. Paul Kortz (ed.) Wien am Anfang des XX Jahrhunderts, op.cit.

130. Ibid., vol.1, p.39

131. The statistics were published annually in the ABZ.

132. In Helmut Weihsmann's Das rote Wien, Vienna Promedia:, 1995, the author provides biographical details, such as were available, on architects involved in designing the public housing in the 1918-1934 period. Of 77 architects listed with biographical details, the following number of architects were students of:

    Otto Wagner 25
    Karl König 9
    Friedrich Ohmann 6
    Josef Hofmann 5
    Peter Behrens 4
    Adolf Loos 3
    Hasenauer 2

133. The most famous of Gessner's projects was the Arbeiterheim in Favoriten. For a brief description see Joseph Lux, 'The "Arbeiterheim", or Work Men's Home', The Studio, XXX, 1904, pp.150-153

134. Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, Wohnen in Wien 1848-1938. Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens, Vienna: Deuticke, 1988

135. Ibid., p.56

136. Peter Feldbauer, 'Die Wohnungsverhältnisse der Unterschichten in Franzisko - Josefinischen Wien', Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 34, 1978, p.368

137. Ibid., pp.371-2

138. See Manfred Wehdorn, Die Wiener Ringstrasse. Die Bautechnik, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978, pp.1-50

139. Anon, 'Die neue offentliche Arbeiten in Wien', DBZ, 1891, pp.611-614

140. Ibid., p.611

141. Camillo Sitte, 'Das Wien der Zukunft', Monatsblätter des Wissenschaflichen Club in Wien, 1891 (Brochure)

142. Ibid., p.2

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., p.5

145. Ibid., p.6

146. Ibid., p.8

147. Camillo Sitte, 'Auf gleicher Höhe', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 15.2.1892

148. Camillo Sitte, 'Station Wien', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 25.10.1891

149. Wolfgang Mayer, 'Der Stadt Wiens um die Jahrhundertwende', Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 34, 1978, pp.276-308

150. Renate Schweitzer, 'Der Generalregulierungsplan für Wien', op.cit., p.27

151. See anon, Der Wald-und Wiesengürtel und die Höhenstrasse der Stadt Wien, Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1905

152. Cited in Schweitzer, op.cit., p.34

153. Camillo Sitte, 'Die Regulierung des Stubenviertels', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 5.3.1893

154. Camillo Sitte, 'Das Wien der Zukunft' Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 6.3.1894

155. Ibid.

156. Cited in Renate Schweitzer, op.cit., p.40

157. Renate Schweitzer, op.cit., p.27

158. In detail on the debate surrounding the museum projects, see Peter Haiko, 'Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien' in Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien, Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1988, pp.11-107

159. See 'Regulierung des Stadtteiles an der Elisabethbrücke Wien, Karlsplatz Projekt', in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner 1. Das Werk des Architekten. 1860-1902, op.cit., pp.79-80

160. Ibid., p.84

161. Otto Wagner, 'Generalregulierungsplan für Wien', in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner 1. Das Werk des Architekten, op.cit., pp.87-122, here p.88

162. Ibid., p.91

163. Ibid., p.93

164. Ibid., p.95

165. Ibid., p.97

166. Ibid., p.98

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

169. Ibid.

170. See Otto Wagner, Die Grossstadt, op.cit.

171. Otto Wagner, 'Generalregulierungsplan für Wien', op.cit., p.108

172. On Weber's theory of rationalisation see Rogers Brubaker, The Limits of Rationality, London: Allen & Unwin, 1984 and, in relation to architecture and Wagner - though imputing Weber's views too readily to Wagner - see Lawrence A. Scaff, 'Social Theory, Rationalism and the Architecture of the City: Fin-de-siècle Thematics', Theory, Culture and Society, 12, 1995, pp.63-85

173. Otto Wagner, 'Generalregulierungs plan für Wien', op.cit., p.108

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid., p.110

176. Ibid., p.114

177. Cited in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner, op.cit., p.134

178. For an analysis in detail of the city railway and all its stations see Günter Kolb, Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn, Munich: scaneg, 1989

179. See Kölb for further details

180. Hermann Czech, 'Otto Wagners Verkehrsbauwerk', in Zur Abswechslung, op.cit., pp.24-32, esp. p.25

18.1 Ibid., p.26

182. Ibid., pp.26-7

183. Ibid., p.29

184. See Karl Hochenegg, 'Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der Wiener Verkehrsverhältnisse', ZOIAV, 62, 1910, pp.181-194, 201-211

185. For a discussion of the historical and contemporary development of the Gürtel see Leopold Redl, et al. 'Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Planung des Gürtels'. Um Bau, 9, 1985, pp.7-50

186. Anton Czepelka, 'Stadtbahnen in Europa, Amerika und-Wien', Die Zeit, 18.11.99, p.99

18. Ibid.

188. Ibid., p.101

189. Ludwig Hevesi, 'Otto Wagners Moderne Kirche' (29.11.1899), in Acht Jahre Sezession, op.cit., p.203

190. Ibid.

191. A.S. Levetus, Imperial Vienna, London/New York: John Lane, 1905, p.265

192. Cited in Hartmut Scheible, Literarische Jugendstil in Wien, Munich/Zurich: Artemis, 1984, p.20

193. Cited in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner 1, op.cit., p.134

194. Hermann Czech 'Otto Wagners Verkehrsbauwerk', op.cit., p.26

195. Camillo Sitte, 'Die neue Stadterweiterung', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 27.9.1891

196. Wolfgang Mayer, 'Der Städtebau Wiens um die Jahrhundertwende', op.cit., p.296

197. Renate Schweitzer 'Der Regulierungsplan', op.cit., p.84

198. On the history of this project see Georg Rigele, Die Wiener Höhenstrasse, Vienna: Turia & Kant, 1993

199. See Rigele, op.cit.

200. See Rigele, op.cit.

201. Hans Schmidkunz 'Wiener Baufragen', Der Stadtebau, vol.6, 1909, p.46

202. See Peter Haiko, 'Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef- Stadtmuseum'. op.cit.

203. See, for example, Karl Hochenegg, 'Projekte betreffend elektrische Untergrundbahn durch die Innere Stadt Wien', ZOIAV, 61, 1909, pp.413-417, 432-436

204. Renate Schweitzer, op.cit., p.41

205. Peter Feldbauer, op.cit., p.386. Further on the housing situation see Michael John, Hausherrenmacht und Mieterelend: 1890-1923, Vienna: Verlag für Gesellchaftskritik, 1982

206. See Renate Banik-Schweizer, 'Die Kleinwohnungsfrage in Wien um die Jahrhundertwende' in Juan Rodriguez-Lores/Gerhard Fehl (eds.), Die Kleinwohnungsfrage, Hamburg: Christians, 1988, pp.431-450

207. See the report 'Wien nach dem Krieg', DBZ, 50, 1916, pp.385-7, 389-392, 397-8

208. Otto Wagner, 'Wien nach dem Kriege', Neue Freie Presse, 7.4.1917. Reprinted in Otto Antonia Graf, Otto Wagner, 2 Das Werk des Architekten. 1903-1918, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1985, pp.773-5

209. Ibid., pp.774-5

210. Ibid., p.775

CHAPTER THREE

1. Otto Wagner, Moderne Architektur in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner I. Das Werk des Architekten 1860-1902, op.cit., p.263

2. Ibid., p.264. My emphasis

3. Ibid. My emphasis

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p.266

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p.267

11. Ibid. My emphasis

12. Ibid., p.269

13. Ibid. My emphasis

14. Cited in

15. Otto Wagner, Moderne Architektur, op.cit., p.270

16. Ibid

17. Ibid., p.271

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., p.272

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 273

26. Ibid., 274

17. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p.275

30. Ibid., p.276

31. Ibid., p.278

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., p.279

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., p.281

36. See Adolf Loos, 'Potemkin City' in Spoken into the Void, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982, pp.95-7

37. Otto Wagner, Modern Architektur, op.cit., p.281

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., p.283

40. Ibid., p.282

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p.283

44. Ibid., p.284

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., p.285. It should be noted in passing that 'Menschen' is people or human beings and not 'men'. The latter opens up misinterpretations of the text, regardless of whether Wagner was preoccupied with men's or women's clothing.

47. Ibid., p.286

48. Ibid., p.287

49. Ibid.

50. See Roland Schachel, Das Grosstadt Miethaus des Wagner-Kreises, op.cit.

51. See Hermann Muthesius, Stilarchitektur und Baukunst, Mühlheim-Ruhr: K. Schimmelpferd, 1902; Karl Scheffler, Moderne Baukunst, Berlin: Julius Bard, 1907

52. Manfredo Tafuri, 'Am Steinhof. Centrality and "surface" in Otto Wagner's architecture' in Gustav Peichl (ed.) Die Kunst des Otto Wagner, Vienna: Akademie der bildende Künste, 1984, pp.61-75

53. Hermann Czech, 'Die Sprache Otto Wagners' in Zur Abwechslung: Schriften zur Architektur, (second enlarged edition), Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1995, pp.72-5

54. Hermann Czech, 'Die Sprache Otto Wagners', op.cit., p.73

55. Manfredo Tafuri, 'Am Steinhof', op.cit., p.62

56. See Umberto Eco, 'Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture' in Mark Gottdiener and Alexandros Lagopoulos (eds.), The City and the Sign, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, pp.55-86; now available also in Neil Leach (ed.) Rethinking Architecture, London: Routledge, 1997, pp.

57. On Benjamin on the city and/as text see Graeme Gilloch, Myth and Metropolis. Water Benjamin and the City, Oxford: Polity, 1995

58. Karl Henrici, 'Moderne Architektur', DBZ, 31, 1897, pp.14-20

59. loc. cit., p.14

60. Ibid. My emphasis

61. Ibid., p.15

62. Ibid., p.19

63. Ibid., p.20

64. Anon., Moderne Architektur, Prof. Otto Wagner und die Wahrheit über beide, Vienna: Spielhagen & Shurich, 1897

65. See, for instance, Roland Schachel, op.cit., pp.25-9. The records of the publisher were destroyed in World War II

66. Anon, Moderne Architektur, op.cit., p.6

67. Ibid., p.8

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., p.15

70. Ibid., p.16

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., p.22

73. Ibid., p.24

74. Ibid., pp.25-6

75. Anon., 'Moderne Architektur', WBZ, XIV, 18.3.1897, pp.281-2, 25.3.1897, pp.293-5

76. Josef von Dahlen, 'Moderne Architektur', Österreichisch-Ungarische Revue, 22, 1897-98, pp.75-90

77. Richard Streiter, Architektonische Zeitfragen. Eine Sammlung und Schichtung verschiedener Anschauungen mit besonderer Beziehung auf Professor Otto Wagners Schriften "Moderne Architektur", Berlin 1898. Reprinted in Richard Streiter,, Ausgewählte Schriften zur Aesthetik und Kunst-Geschichte, Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1913, pp.55-149. All references are to this reprint.

78. Anon., 'Moderne Architektur', op.cit., p.281

79. Ibid., p.293

80. Ibid., p.295

81. Ibid.

82. Josef von Dahlen, 'Moderne Architektur', op.cit., p.75

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., p.76

84. Ibid., p.79

85. Ibid., p.80

86. Ibid., p.81

87. Ibid., p.82

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., .83. My emphasis

90. Ibid., p.87

91. Ibid., p.89

92. Richard Streiter, 'Das deutsche Kunstgewerbe und die englisch - amerikanische Bewegung' in Ausgewahlte Schriften,op.cit., pp.1-29

93. loc. cit., p.2

94. Ibid., p.3

95. Ibid., pp.5-6

96. Ibid., p.9

97. Ibid., p.19

98. Ibid., p.28

99. Ibid., p.31

100. Ibid., p.32

101. Ibid., p.34

102. Roland Schachel, Das Grosstadt Miethaus der Wagnerkreises, op.cit.

103. Günter Kolb, Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn, op.cit., esp. pp.391-433. Kolb largely follows Schachel's critique here.

104. On the significance of this victory and the urban politics of Karl Lueger see John W. Boyer, Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna. Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1914, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996. Boyer argues that 'With modest financial and intellectual resources Karl Lueger and his colleagues had broken thirty year of Liberal rule in the capital, representing perhaps the most extraordinary shift in voter loyalties ever experienced in a major Central European city before the First World War' (p.1)

105. Richard Streiter, 'Architektonische Streitfragen', op.cit., p.66

106. Cited in Streiter, op.cit., p.67

107. Richard Streiter, 'Architektonische Streitfragen', op.cit., p.68

108. Ibid., p.68. Streiter makes extensive use of Walter Crane's work, especially his The Claims of Decorative Art, Boston/New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1892

109. Richard Streiter, 'Architektonische Streitfragen', op.cit., pp.72-3

110. Ibid., p.74

111. Ibid., p.77

112. Ibid., p.81. My emphasis

113. Ibid., pp.81-2

114. For an overview of economic development in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in this period, see David F. Good, The Economic Rise of the Hapsburg Empire, 1750-1914, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, esp.ch.vi

115. Since at least the Gründerjahre, the critique of parvenue taste and culture in Germany and especially Berlin was a common refrain. Shortly after Streiter's critiique was published, there appeared an anonymous essay in Maximillian Harden's journal Die Zukunft, entitled 'The Most Beautiful City in the World' that made reference to Berlin as 'the city of parvenues, the parvenue of cities'. Its author was Walter Rathenau. See: anon, 'Die Schönste Stadt der Welt', Die Zukunft, 26, 1899, pp.36- 48

16. Richard Streiter, 'Architechtonische Streitfragen', op.cit., pp.88-9

117. See Carl Schorske, Fin-de-siècle Vienna, op.cit.

118. Richard Streiter, op.cit., p.95

119. Ibid., p.97

120. Ibid., p.99

121. Ibid., p.109

122. Ibid., p.115

123. Ibid., p.119

124. Ibid., p.126

125. Ibid., p.127

126. Ibid., p.129

127. Ibid., p.130

128. Ibid., p.131

129. Ibid., p.132

130. Ibid., .138

131. Ibid., p.149

132. Moritz Dreger, 'Aesthetik der Städte', Die Zeit, no.195, 25.6.1898, pp.198-9

133. Ibid., p.199

134. Ibid.

135. Anon, 'Modern Architektur', ZOIAV, no.18, 1899, p.308

136. Hermann Bahr, 'Architektur', Die Zeit, no.232, 11.3.1899, pp.154-5

137. Ibid., p.155

138. Ibid.

139. Max Eisler, 'Die Baukunst unserer Zeit', DA, XX, 1914/15, pp.69-71

140. Ibid., p.70

141. Joseph Lux, 'Otto Wagner: Modern Architektur', Die Zeit, no.401, 7.6.1902, p.158

142. Ibid.

143. The programme is sketched out in Wagner's inaugural lecture, published in the DBZ in October 1894

144. Cited in Eduard F. Sekler, Josef Hofmann. The Architectural Work, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, p.12

145. Ibid.

146. City in Randolph Carter and Robert Reed Cole, Joseph Urban. Architecture. Theatre. Opera. Film, New York: Abbeville Press, 1992, p.15

147. Ibid.

148. Josef Hofmann, 'Brief Autobiography' in Eduard F. Sekler, op.cit., p.480

149. Otto Wagner, 'Josef Olbrich', DA, XIV, 1908, p.161

150. Cited in Damjan Prelovsek, Joze Plecnik. 1892-1957, New Haven/London: Yale University Press 1997, p.5

151. August J. Sarnitz, 'The Wagnerschule and Adolf Loos' in Lionel March and Judith Sheine (eds.), RM Schindler. Composition and Construction, London: Academy Editions, 1993, pp.20-37, esp. p.26

152. See John W. Boyer, Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna, op.cit.

153. See Gottfried Fliedl, Kunst und Lehre am Beginn der Moderne. Die Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule 1867-1918, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1986, p.143

154. Fliedl draws upon the minutes of the meetings of 1899, adding a new dimension to Wagner's influence in this period on other institutions than his own.

155. Cited in Gottfried Fliedl, Kunst und Lehre, op.cit., p.145

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid., p.148

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., p.152

160. Little has been written on this neglected architect and teacher. For references to very brief outlines of his biography see Christopher Long, cited below, p.58, n.3

161. There is still no full study of Friedrich Ohmann's work. For a brief discussion see Friedrich Achleitner, 'Eine Notwendigkeit. Ausstellung Friedrich Ohmann in Künstlerhaus' in Nieder mit Fischer von Erlach: Architekturkritik, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1985, pp.192-5

162. See Friedrich Ohmann, 'Im Kampf um den Stil', DBZ, 47, 1913, pp.54-7

163. See Christopher Long, 'The Wayward Heir: Joseph Frank's Vienna Years, 1885-1933' in Nina Stritzler-Levine (ed.), Joseph Frank. Architect and Designer, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1996, pp.44-61, esp. p.58

164. Ibid., p.59. Leon Botstein, in the same volume (p.42) states that 'In 1897, in the Technische Hochschule out of 1,706 students, 483 were Jewish. Another 113 were Protestant. The percentage of Jews was, at a minimum, 33 .. a high proportion of the Protestants were probably of Jewish descent and considered by anti-Seminites as Jews ...' The mathematics of this claim and the assumption concerning Protestant students requires further study.

165. August Sarnitz, 'The Wagnerschule and Adolf Loos', op.cit., p.29.

166. Ibid.

167. There are a number of studies of the Wagner School. See Otto Graf, Die vergessene Wagner Schule, Vienna: Jung und Volk, 1969; Pozzetto, Marco, Die Schule OttoWagners, op.cit.; Iain Boyd Whyte, Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner. Emil Hoppe. Marcel Kammerer. Otto Schönthal, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989

168. See Appendix 2

169. Roland Schachel, Das Grosstadtmiethaus des Wagnerkreises, op.cit., pp.63-4

170 Wagner in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten, vol.1, op.cit., p.605

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid., p604

173. On working class housing conditions in Vienna, see Michael John, Hausherrenmacht und Mieterelend, Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftikritik, 1982

174. See Peter Haiko 'Otto Wagner: "Von der Renaissance der Renaissance zur Naissance der Kunst', Akten des 25. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, 8, Vienna 1986, pp.117-123

175. Ibid., p.121

176. Ibid., p.119

177. In A.F. Seligmann, Kunst und Künstler von gestern und heute, Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1910, pp.16-21

178. Ibid., p.16

179. Ibid., p.21

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid., p.241. My emphasis

182. Ibid., p.248

183. Ibid., p.255

184. Ibid., pp.248-9

185. Ibid., p.252

186. Cited in Michael Müller, Schöner Schein, Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1987, pp.84-5

187. Camillo Sitte, City Planning, op.cit.

188. See Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds.), Simmel on Culture, London: Sage, 1997, pp.174-186. For a discussion of the essay see my Simmel and Since, London: Routledge, 1992, ch.6

189. Wagner in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, vol.1., op.cit., p.281

190. Esther da Costa Meyer, The Work of Antonio Sant'Elia, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, p.77

191. Otto Wagner, 'Die Grossstadt' in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, vol2., op.cit., p.642

192. Otto Wagner, Die Baukunst unserer Zeit, op.cit., p.3

193. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972

194. In Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, vol.1., op. cit., p.110

195. Günter Kolb, Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn, op.cit.

196. Kolb, op.cit., pp.203-4

197. Friedrich Achleitner, Wiener Architektur, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996, p.34

198. In Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, vol.1., op.cit., pp.334-6

199. Ibid., p.336

200. It was the Futurist movement which dramatically applauded engineering and technology

201. In Otto Graf, Otto Wagner, op.cit., p.336

202. Michael Müller, Schöner Schein, op.cit., p.82

203. Ibid., p.85

204. Otto Wagner in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, vol.1., op.cit., p.336

205. Peter Haiko, 'Monumentalität als Problem der Öffentlichkeit in der Architektur', Kunstchronik, 30, 1977, p.134

206. Ibid., p.135. My emphasis

207. Michael Müller, Schöner Schein, op.cit., p.89

208. Friedrich Achleitner, Wiener Architektur, op.cit., p.34 My emphasis

209. John W. Boyer, Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996, p.10

210. Ibid.

211. See Peter Haiko, 'Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum' in Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Kosef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien, Vienna: Historisches Museum, 1988, pp.11-107

212. John W. Boyer, op.cit., p.11

213. See Akos Moravanszky, Competing Visions, op.cit.

214. Otto Wagner, 'Die Grossstadt' in Otto Graf, Otto Wagner. Das Werk, vol2, op.cit., pp.641-646. There is an early English translation as 'The Development of a Great City', Architectural Record, 31, May 1912, pp.485-500

215. Otto Wagner, 'Die Grossstadt', op.cit., p.641

216. Ibid., p.647

217. August Endell, Die Schönheit der grossen Stadt (1908), Berlin: Archibook, 1984

218. 'Die Grossstadt', op.cit., p.646

219. Ibid., p.642

220. Ibid., p.641

221. Ibid.

222. Ibid., p.641-2

223. Ibid., p.641

224. Ibid., p.646

225. Ibid.

226. Ibid., p.644

227. Ibid.

228. Manfredo Tafuri, The Sphere and the Labyrinth, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988

229. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, Oxford: Blackwell, 1974

230. For a contemporary account see Ludwig Hevesi, Altkunst-Neukunst, op.cit., pp.176-182

231. Werner Sombart, 'Wien', (1907) in Wolfgang Pircher (ed.) Debut eines Jahrhunderts. Essays zur Wiener Moderne, Vienna: Falter, 1986, pp.35-9, esp. p.36

232. Ibid., p.38

233. Ibid. My emphasis

234. Cited in Elisabeth Springer, Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse, op.cit., p.

235. See n.211 above

CONCLUSION

1. Hans Tietze, Wien, Vienna/Leipzig: Dr. Hans Epstein, 1931, p.377

2. Manfredo Tafuri, 'Am Steinhof. Centrality and "surface" in Otto Wagner's architecture', op.cit., p.62

3. Ibid.

4. Friedrich Achleitner, 'Otto Wagner heute' in Wiener Architektur. Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und semantischem Schlamassel, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996

5. See Georg Simmel, The Philosophy of Money, (Second Enlarged Edition), London: Routledge 1990, esp. chs. 2 and 3

6. Christine M. Boyer, The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996, pp.24f.

7. See Georg Simmel, The Philosophy of Money, op.cit., ch.6

8. On this concept in general see John Urry, The Tourist Gaze, London: Sage, 1990

9. See Christine Boyer, The City of Collective Memory, op.cit., pp.137ff.

10. See illustrations, no.

11. See 'Die Moskauer Metro' in Peter Noever (ed.) Tyrannie des Schönen. Architektur der Stalin-Zeit, Munich/New York: Prestel, 1994, pp.69-90

12. See Richard Pommer, '"More a necropolis than a metropolis". Ludwig Hilberseimer' in Richard Pommer et al., In the Shadow of Mies, Chicago: Art Institute, 1988, p.16-53

13. See Iain Boyd Whyte, 'Ein Wagner Schüler in absentia, op.cit.

14. See Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, Oxford: Blackwell, 1974. See also Robert J. Ackermann, Wittgenstein's City, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988

15. See Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers, 1, Hague, Nijhoff, 1967, pp.3-47

16. See Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, London: Routledge, 1952, pp.276-322

17. Adolf Loos, 'Ornament and Crime' in The Architecture of Adolf Loos, op.cit., p.101

18. See the comprehensive volume by Paul Asenbaum, et al., Otto Wagner. Möbel und Innenräume, op.cit.

19. For a fuller discussion of the implications of this see my Simmel and Since, London: Routledge, 1992, ch.7

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achleitner, Friedrich, Nieder mit Fischer von Erlach, Vienna/Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1987

Achleitner, Friedrich, Wiener Architektur, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996

Adorno, Theordor W., Minima Moralia, London: New Left Books, 1974

Anderson, Benedict, Imagined Communities, London: Verso, 1983

Anderson, Mark M., Kafka's Clothes. Ornament and Aestheticism in the Hapsburg Fin de Siècle, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992

Anon., '"Moderne Architektur"', WBZ, XIV, 18.3.1897, pp.281-2; 25.3.1897, pp.293-5

Anon., Moderne Architektur, Prof. Otto Wagner und die Wahrheit über beide, Vienna: Spielhagen & Schurich, 1897

Anon., 'Moderne Architektur', ZOIAV, no.18, 1899, p.308

Anon., 'Die schönste Stadt der Welt', Die Zukunft, 26, 1899, pp.36-48

Asenbaum, Paul, et al., Otto Wagner. Möbel und Innenräume, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1984

Asendorf, Christoph, Batteries of Life On the History of Things and Their Perception in Modernity, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993

Auer, Hans, 'Die Entwicklung des Raumes in der Baukunst' ABZ, 48, 1883, pp.65-68, 73-74

Auer, Hans 'Moderne Stylfragen' ABZ, 50, 1885, pp.19-21, 25-27

Bahr, Hermann 'Architektur', Die Zeit, no.232, 11.3.1899

Baltzarek, Franz et al., Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Wiener Stadterweiterung Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975

Bammer, Anton, Architektur als Erinnerung, Vienna: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Archäologie, 1977

Bammer, Anton 'Architektur als Erinnerung-Wiener Architektur im Historismus' Um Bau, no. 6/7, 1983, pp.35-48

Banik-Schweitzer, Renate and Meissl, Gerhard, Industriestadt Wien. Die Durchsetzung der industriellen Marktproduktion in der Habsburgerresidenzstadt, Vienna: 1983

Banik-Schweitzer, Renate, 'Die Kleinwohnungsfrage in Wien um die Jahrhundertwende' in Juan Rodriguez-Lores/Gerhard Feld (eds) Die Klein wohnungsfrage, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1988, pp.431-450

Baudelaire, Charles, 'The Painter of Modern Life' in The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays, (trans. and ed. J. Mayne), London: Phaidon, 1964

Baumeister, Reinhard, Stadt-Erweiterung in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung, Berlin: Ernst und Korn, 1876

Bayer, Josef Baustudien und Baubilder. Schriften zur Kunst, Jena: Diederichs, 1919

Beiträge zur Stadtforschung, Stadtentwicklung und Stadtgestaltung, 8, Der Karlsplatz in Wien, Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1981

Benjamin, Walter Charles Baudelaire, London: New Left Books, 1973

Benjamin, Walter Das Passagenwerk, (Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 5) Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980

Berman, Moriz, Illustrierte Führer durch Wien und Umgebung, Vienna: Hartleben's Verlag, 19981

Bloch, Ernst, Heritage of Our Times, Oxford: Polity, 1991

Bobek, Harald and Lichtenberger, Elizabeth, Wien. Bauliche Gestalt, Gräz/Köln: 1966

Boyer, Christine, M., The City of Collective Memory, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996

Boyer, John W. Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna. Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1914 Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996

Brix, Emil and Janick, Allan (eds.), Kreatives Milieu. Wien um 1900, Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993

Brubaker, Rogers, The Limits of Rationality London: Allen & Unwin, 1984

Cars, Jean des and Pinon, Pierre Paris. Haussmann. Le Paris d'Haussmann, Paris: Edition Picard, 1991

Carter, Randolf and Cole, Robert Reed, Joseph Urban. Architecture. Theatre. Opera. Film, New York: Abbeville Press, 1992

Colomina, Beatriz, Privacy and Publicity, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994

Crane, Walter, The Claims of Decorative Art, Boston/New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892

Czáky, Moritz, 'Moderne' in Emil Brix and Patrick Werkner (eds.) Die Wiener Moderne, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik pp.24-40, 1990

Czepelka, Anton, 'Stadtbahnen in Europa, Amerika und-Wien' Die Zeit, 18.11.1899, pp.99-101

Dahlen, Josef von, 'Moderne Architektur' Österreichische - Ungarische Revue, 22, 1897,98, pp.75-90

Dreger, Moritz, 'Aesthetik der Städte', Die Zeit, no.195, 25.6.1898

Eco, Umberto, 'Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture' in Mark Gottdiener and Alexandros Lagopoulos (eds.), The City and the Sign, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, pp.55-86

Eisler, Max, 'Die Baukunst unserer Zeit', DA, xx, 1914/15, pp.69-71

Eggert, Klaus, Der Wohnbau der Wiener Ringstrasse im Historismus. 1855-1896 (vol.VII of Die Wiener Ringstrasse), Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976

Fausch, Deborah et al. Architecture: In Fashion Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994

Fehl, Gerhard, 'Stadtbaukunst contra Stadtplanung: Zur Auseinandersetzung Camillo Sittes mit Reinhard Baumeister', Stadtbauwelt, 71, 1981, pp.273-84

Feldbauer, Peter 'Die Wohnungsverhältnisse der Unterschichten im Franzisko - Josefinischen Wien. Thesen und Problemen', in Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, vol.34, 1978, pp.358-389

Feldegg, Freiherr von, 'Wiens zweite Renaissance' DA, 1, 1895, pp.1-2

Feldegg, Freiherr von, 'In welchem Stil sollen wir bauen?' DA, I, 1895, p.48

Feldegg, Freiherr von, 'Historisch-Modern' DA, IX, 1903, pp.43-6

Fliedl, Gottfried, Kunst und Lehre am Beginn der Moderne. Die Wiener Kunstgewerkeschule 1876-1918, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1986

Frisby, David, Fragments of Modernity. Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin Oxford: Polity/Cambridge, Mas: MIT Press, 1986

Frisby, David, Simmel and Since, London: Routledge, 1992

Frisby, David 'The Fläneur in Social Theory' in Keith Tester (ed.) The Fläneur, London: Routledge, 1994, pp.81-110

Frisby, David, 'Modernità' in Enciclopedia della Scienze Sociali, vol.5, Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996, pp.754-61

Frisby, David and Featherstone, Mike (eds.), Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings London/Los Angeles: Sage, 1997

Fritsch, Karl E.O., 'Stil-Betrachtungen' DBZ, 24, 1890, pp.417-430, 434-440

Gilloch, Graeme, Myth and Metropolis. Walter Benjamin and the City Oxford: Polity 1995

Good, David F., The Economic Rise of the Hapsburg Empire, 1750-1914 Berkeley: University of California Pres, 1983

Graf, Otto Die vergessene Wagner Schule Vienna: Jugend & Volk, 1969

Graf, Otto, Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten (vol.1 1860-1902; vol.2 1903-1918) Vienna: Böhlau, 1985

Gumbrecht, H.U., 'Modern, Modernität, Moderne', in O. Brunner, W. Konze and R. Kosellek (eds.), Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, vol.4, pp.93-131, Stuttgart, 1978

Gurlitt, Cornelius, 'Alte Formen - neuer Stil!', DBZ, 23, 1889, pp.346-9

Habermas, Jürgen, The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity, Cambridge: Polity, 1987

Haiko, Peter, 'Introduction' to Einige Skizzen, Projekte und Ausgeführte Bauwerke von Otto Wagner Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1984, pp.5-11

Haiko, Peter, 'Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef - Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien, in Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum, Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1988, pp.11-107

Hamann, Brigitte, Hitlers Wien Munich: Piper, 1996

Harvey, David, Consciousness and the Urban Experience, Oxford: Blackwell, 1985

Hautmann, Hans and Rudolf Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wiens, 1919-1934 Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980

Hennings, Fred, Die Ringstrasse. Symbol einer Epoche, Vienna: Amalthea, 1977

Hering, Klaus, 'Die Moderne. Begriff und Probleme', in Monika Wagner (ed.) Moderne Kunst, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1991, pp.175-196

Herrmann, Wolfgang (ed.), In Which Style Should We Build? The German Debate on Architectural Style, Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1992

Henrici, Karl, 'Der Individualismus in Städtebau', DBZ, 25, 1891, pp.295-8, 301-2, 320-22

Henrici, Karl, 'Gedanken über das moderne Städte-Bausystem' DBZ, 25, 1891, pp.81-3,86-91

Henrici, Karl, 'Langweilige und Kurzweilige Strassen' DBZ, 27, 1893, pp.271-4

Henrici, Karl, 'Moderne Architektur' DBZ, 31, 1897, pp.14-20

Hevesi, Ludwig, Acht Jahre Sezession Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1906/Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag 1984 (reprint)

Hevesi, Ludwig, Altkunst-Neukunst. Wien 1894-1908, Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1909/Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1986 (reprint)

Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence (eds.), The Invention of Tradition Cambridge: C.U.P., 1979

Hochenegg, Karl, 'Projekt, betreffend elektrische Untergrundbahn durch die Innere Stadt Wien', ZOIAV, 61, 1909, pp.413-417, 432-436

Höfert, Victor, 'Die Architektur an der Wiener Akademie', WBZ, 11, 1894, pp.292-5

Höfert, Victor, '"Modern"' WBZ, 12, 1895, pp.249-50, 265-6

Hofmann, Albert 'In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?' ABZ, 55, 1890, pp.81-84, 89-92

Hösl, Wolfgang and Pithofer, Gottfried, Wohnen in Wien 1848-1938. Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens, Vienna: Deuticke, 1988

Jauss, Hans R., Literatur als Provokation Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1970

John, Michael, Hausherrenmacht und Mieterelend. 1890-1923, Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1982

John, Michael and Lichtblau, Albert Schmelztiegel Wien - Einst und Jetzt, (2nd Edition), Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1993

Jordan, David P., Transforming Paris. The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann, New York: Free Press, 1995

Köhnke, Klaus C., 'Zum Problem des Begriffs der Moderne - ein Lösungsvorschlag', in Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien, 2, Leipzig, 1997, pp.3-10

Kolb, Günter, Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn, Munich: scaneg, 1989

Kortz, Paul (ed.), Wien am Anfang des XX Jahrhunderts, Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedlin, 2 vols, 1905-6

Köstlin, August, 'Das neue Wien', ABZ, 1883, pp.1-2, 20-23

Köstlin, August, 'Das neue Wien', ABZ, 1885, pp.1-4

Krischanitz, Adolf et al., 'Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Plannung des Gürtels' in Um Bau, no.9, 1985, pp.7-50

Kristan, Markus, Oskar Marmorek. 1863-1909. Architekt und Zionist, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996

Ladd, Brian Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990

Leach, Neil (ed.) Rethinking Architecture, London: Routledge, 1997

Levetus, A.S., Imperial Vienna. An account of its history, traditions and arts London/New York: John Lane, 1905

Lichtenberger, Elizabeth, Wirtschaftsfunktion und Sozialstruktur der Wiener Ringstrasse, Vienna: Böhlau, 1970

Lichtenberger, Elizabeth, Die Wiener Altstadt, Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1977

Lichtenberger, Elizabeth, Vienna. Bridge Between Cultures, London/New York: Belhaven Press, 1993

Long, Christopher, 'The Wayward Heir: Josef Frank's Vienna Years, 1885-1933' in Nina Stritzler-Levine (ed.), Josef Frank. Architect and Designer, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1996, pp.44-61

Loos, Adolf, 'Potemkin City' in Spoken Into the Void. Collected Essays. 1897-1900, Cambridge, Mass.:MIT Press, 1982, pp.95-7

Loos, Adolf, 'Ornament and Crime' in The Architecture of Adolf Loos, London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1987, pp.100-103

Lux, Joseph, 'Otto Wagner: Moderne Architektur', Die Zeit, no.401, 7.6.1902, p.158

Lux, Joseph, Otto Wagner; Eine Monographie, Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1914

Makela, Maria, The Munich Secession, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990

Mallgrave, Harry (ed.), Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity, Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1993

Mayer, Wolfgang, 'Der Städtebau Wiens um die Jahrhundertwende' in Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, vol.34, 1978, pp.276-308

Meissl, Gerhard, 'Modernisierung und Modularität. Die Entwicklung der Wiener Ökonomie zwischen 1890 und 1914 in Bild der Kommunalen Statistik', Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 52/53. 1996/97, pp.249-275

Meyer, Esther da Costa, The Work of Antonio Sant'Elia, New Haven: Yale Univeristy press, 1995

Minkus, Fritz, 'Unser Styl', WBZ, 13, 1896, pp.373-4, 385-6

Mönninger, Michael, Vom Ornament zum Nationalkunstwerk. Die Schriften von Camillo Sitte zu Kunsttheorie, Pädagogik, Gewerbe, Diss. Technische Universität Karlsruhe, 1995

Moravánszky, Akos, Die Erneuerung der Baukunst. Wege zur Moderne in Mitteleuropa 1900-1940, Salzburg/Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1988

Moravánszky, Akos, Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1988

Moravánszky, Akos, Competing Visions. Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996

Müller, Michael, Schöner Schein. Eine Architekturkritik, Frankfurt: Atheneum, 1987

Müller, Michael, 'Das Schöne und das Nützliche', in Monika Wagner (ed.), Moderne Kunst, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1991, pp.152-173

Musil, Robert, The Main Without Qualities, (trans. by Sophie Wilkins) New York: Knopf, 1995

Muthesius, Hermann, Stilarchitektur und Baukunst, Mühlheim-Ruhr: K. Schimmelpferd, 1902

Neumann, Franz von, 'Die Moderne in der Architektur und im Kunstgewerbe', ZOIAV, 51, 1899, pp.145-149

Noever, Peter (ed.), Tyrannie des Schönen. Architektur der Stalin-Zeit, Munich/New York: Prestel, 1994

Oechslin, Werner Stilhülse und Kern. Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur moderner Architektur, Zurich: eta Verlag/Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 1994

Ohmann, Friedrich, 'In Kampf um den Stil', DBZ, 47, 1913, pp.54-7

Osborne, Peter 'Modernity is a qualitative, not a chronological category' New Left Review, 192, 1992, pp.65-84

Pötzl-Malinkova, Maria Die Plastik der Ringstrasse. Künstlerische Entwicklung 1890-1918 Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976

Pozzetto, Marco, Die Schule Otto Wagners. 1894-1912, Vienna, Munich: Schroll, 1990

Prelovsek, Damjan, Joze Plecnik. 1872-1957, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997

Prokop, Ursula, Wien. Aufbruch zur Metropole. Geschäafts-und Wohnhäuser in der Innenstadt 1910 bis 1914, Vienna: Böhlau, 1994

Redtenbacher, Rudolf, 'Die Baukunst der Vergangenheit und ihre Stellung zu derjenigen der Gegenwart', ABZ, 46, 1881, pp.1-4, 17-20

Rigele, Georg, Die Wiener Hohenstrasse, Vienna: Turia & Kant, 1993

Sarnitz, August J., 'The Wagnerschule and Adolf Loos' in Lionel March and Judith Sheine (eds.) R.M. Schindler. Composition and Construction, London: Academy Editions, 1993, pp.20-37

Schachel, Roland L., Das Grosstadtmiethaus des Wagnerkreises. Studien zur Entwicklung der 'Modernen Architektur' in Wien, Diss., Technische Universität Wien, 1977

Schattenburg, Heinrich, 'Eine Skizze zur Kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklung der Stylarten', ABZ, 53, 1894, pp. 16-19

Scheffler, Karl, Moderne Baukunst, Berlin: Julius Bard, 1907

Scheible, Hartmut Literarische Jugendstil in Wien, Munich/Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1984

Schmidkunz, Hans, 'Wiener Baufragen', Der Städtebau, vol.6, 1909, pp.46-51

Schorske, Carl E., Fin-de Siècle Vienna, New York: Knopf, 1980

Schumacher, Fritz , 'Die Sehnsucht nach dem "Neuen"', DBZ, 31, 1897, pp.629-32

Schwarzer, Mitchell, German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1995

Schweitzer, Renate, 'Der Generalreguierungsplan für Wien. 1893-1920' Berichte zur Raumforschung und Räumplanung (Vienna), 14, no.6, 1970, pp.23-41

Segel, Harold B., The Vienna Coffee House Wits 1890-1938, West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1993

Sekler, Edward F., Josef Hofmann. The Architectural Work, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985

Semper, Gottfried, The Four Elements of Architecture and other Writings, (Trans. and ed. Harry Mallgrave and Wolfgang Herrmann), Cambridge: C.U.P., 1989

Simmel, Georg, 'Zur Psychologie der Mode: Sociologische Studie', Die Zeit, 5, 12.10.1895, pp.22-24

Simmel, Georg, 'Fashion', International Quarterly (New York), 10, 1904

Simmel, Georg, Philosophie der Mode, Berlin: Pan, 1905

Simmel, Georg, Philosophische Kultur, Berlin: Klinkhardt, 1911

Simmel, George, The Philosophy of Money, (Second Enlarged Edition), London: Routledge, 1990

Sitte, Camillo, Der Städtebau nach seinen kunstlerischen Grundsätzen, Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1889

Sitte, Camillo, 'Die neue Stadterweiterung', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 27.9.1891

Sitte, Camillo, 'Station Wien' Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 25.10.1891

Sitte, Camillo, 'Das Wien der Zukunft', Monatsblätter des Wissenschaftliche Club in Wien, 1891 (Brochure)

Sitte, Camillo, 'Auf gleicher Höhe' Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 15.2.1892

Sitte, Camillo, 'Die Regulierung des Stubenviertels', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 5.3.1893

Sitte, Camillo, 'Das Wien der Zukunft', Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 6.3.1894

Sitte, Camillo, City Planning According to Artistic Principles, (trans. and ed. George Collins and Christiane Collins) New York: Rizzoli, 1985

Smuda, Manfred (ed.), Die Grossstadt als 'Text', Munich: Fink, 1992

Springer, Elizabeth, Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979

Stréiter, Richard, Architektonische Zeitfragen. Eine Sammlung und Schichtung verschiedener Anschauungen mit besonderer Beziehung auf Professor Otto Wagners Schriften "Moderne Architektur" Berlin, 1898

Strèiter, Richard, Ausgewählte Schriften zur Aesthetik, und Kunst-Geschichte, Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1913

Stübben, Joseph, 'Gerade oder krumme Strassen?', DBZ, 13,7.4.1877, pp.132-4

Stübben, Joseph, Der Städtebau, Darmstadt:Bergstrasser, 1890; Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1990 (reprint)

Stübben, Joseph, 'Über Fragen der Städtebaukunst', DBZ, 25, 1891, pp.122-8, 150-55

Stübben, Joseph, 'Zur schönheitlichen Gestaltung städtische Strassen', DBZ, 27, 1893, pp.294-6

Tafuri, Manfredo, 'Am Steinhof. Centrality and "surface" in Otto Wagner's architecture' in Gustav Peichl (ed.), Die Kunst des Otto Wagner, Vienna: Akademie der bildende Kúnste, 1984, pp. 61-75

Teich, Mikulas and Porter, Roy (eds.), Fin de siècle and its legacy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990

Tietze, Hans, Wien. Kultur/Kunst/Geschichte, Vienna/Leipzig: Dr. Hans Epstein, 1931

Trzeschtik, Ludwig, 'Die moderne Architektur', ABZ, 54, 1889, pp. 1-5, 14-16, 31-32, 37-40, 47-48

Trzeschtik, Ludwig, 'Die Principien der Baukunst', ABZ, 56, 1891, pp.4-6, 13-14, 20-22, 27-29, 37-41

Urry, John, The Tourist Gaze, London: Sage, 1940

Vidler, Anthony, The Architectural Uncanny, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992

Wagner, Otto, Moderne Architektur, Vienna: Schroll, 1896

Wagner, Otto, Moderne Architektur, (second edition) Vienna: Schroll, 1898

Wagner, Otto, Moderne Architektur, (Third edition) Vienna: Schroll, 1902

Wagner, Otto, 'Joseph Olbrich', DA, xix, 1908, pp.161-3

Wagner, Otto, Die Grossstadt: Eine Studie über diese, Vienna: Schroll, 1911

Wagner, Otto, 'The Development of the Great City', Architectural Record, 31, 1912, pp.485-500

Wagner, Otto, Die Baukunst unserer Zeit, Vienna: Schroll, 1914

Wagner, Otto, Die Baukunst unserer Zeit, (Reprint) Vienna: Löcker, 1979

Wagner, Otto, Einige Skizzen, Projekten und ausgeführte Bauwerke, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1984

Wagner, Otto, Modern Architecture, (Trans. and ed. Harry Mallgrave) Sant Monica: Getty Center, 1988

Wagner, Walter, Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildende Künste in Wien, Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1967

Waissenberger, Robert, Wiener Nutzbauten des 19. Jahrhunderts als Beispiele zukunftsweisende Bauens, Vienna/Munich: Jugend und Wolk, 1977

Wehdorn, Manfred, Die Wiener Ringstrasse. Die Bautechnik, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978

Weihsmann, Helmut, Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik, 1919-1934, Vienna: Promedia, 1985

Whyte, Iain Boyd, Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner. Emil Hoppe, Marcel Kammerer, Otto Schönthal, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989

Whyte, Iain Boyd, 'Ein Wagner Schüler in absentia' in Vittorio M. Lampugnani (ed.), Antonio Sant'Elia. Gezeichnete Architektur, Munich: Prestel, 1992, pp.57-68

Wiezorek, Daniel, 'Camillo Sittes "Städtebau" in neuer Sicht', Berichte zur Raumforschung und Raumplanung, 33, no.3-5, 1989, pp.35-44

Wrigley, Mark, White Walls, Designer Dresses. The Fashioning of Modern Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995

Wunberg, Gotthart (ed.), Das junge Wien , Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976

Wunberg, Gotthart, Die Wiener Moderne: Literatur, Kunst und Musik zwischen 1890 und 1910, Stuttgart, Reclam, 1981

Wunberg Gotthart (ed.), Die Literarische Moderne. Dokumente zum. Selbstverständnis der Moderne um die Jahrhundertwende, Frankfurt, Atheneum, 1987

Wurzer, Ralph G., Camillo Sitte and America, Vienna: Technische Universität Wien, 1996